

BULLETIN 176

**THE LYNX POINT PEOPLE: THE DYNAMICS
OF A NORTHERN ATHAPASKAN BAND**

**BY
JUNE HELM**

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BY
June Helm

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Errata

- p. 102—para. heading "The Brew Party" *should appear* as centre heading.
p. 108—line one *should appear* as last line above footnotes on page 107.
p. 183—para. 4, 2nd last line—"protective" *should read* "projective."
p. 188—footnote, line 2—"physically" *should read* "psychically"

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PREFACE

This study was made possible by Grants-in-Aid from the Indian Research Committee of the Canadian Social Science Research Council and from the Council proper. I should like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation of this aid—to the Council; to the members of the Indian Research Committee; and to Dr. T. F. McIlwraith, Chairman of the Committee, who was most helpful and encouraging throughout the project. The National Museum of Canada was generous in its contribution of vital field equipment. I am most grateful to Dr. F. J. Alcock, then Chief Curator of the National Museum, and to Dr. Douglas Leechman and Mr. Marcel Rioux, then of the Division of Anthropology, for their aid and interest in the project. Special mention must be accorded R. S. MacNeish, archæologist at the National Museum, who first gained entry into the community studied and who made manifold contributions to the success of the project. Teresa Carterette, co-worker in the field, pursued the work alone through the winter of 1951–52 at some personal and financial sacrifice. My comprehension of Lynx Point life has benefited greatly from our many discussions in which the insights and understandings of Teresa Carterette emerged. My profit from the field association with her is equalled only by the pleasure.

More than he ever knew, personal contacts with the late Professor Robert Redfield of the University of Chicago, and the example of his illuminating intellect, disciplined and humane, have been a deep source of guidance and encouragement in this, as in all my work.

So many residents of Fort Simpson were so unfailingly kind and helpful to us that I cannot name them or their acts individually. But our gratitude for the warm rooms and well-cooked meals that were so graciously offered us during our visits to Fort Simpson will remain.

Finally, it is with deepest gratitude and affection that I name the major contributors to the success of the field work—The Lynx Point Déné, who overcame their anxiety and timidity of us as *mola* to proffer help and, I think, friendship to us as human beings.



THE LYNX POINT PEOPLE: THE DYNAMICS OF A NORTHERN ATHAPASKAN BAND

INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM

When the study of the Slave Indian community of Lynx Point in Canada's Northwest Territories was first under consideration, a two-fold contribution to anthropological knowledge was envisioned. First, the paucity of information on the interior or northeastern Athapaskan or Déné is such that any additional ethnographic information would be of value. Secondly, it was known that the Lynx Point people had instituted among themselves group projects of a nature apparently unique among present-day Slave groups. An investigation of this development seemed likely to yield a worth-while case study in socio-cultural change and small group interaction.

I feel that, to at least some extent, these aims have been realized. But I also feel that there has emerged a third contribution, really but a distinctive aspect of both of the others, that was not clearly foreseen prior to the field work. This is the emphasis on the life of the Lynx Point Déné as *community* life. This emphasis was dictated by the circumstances of socio-cultural life as they were encountered at Lynx Point. It is an emphasis not encountered in the several ethnographic reports that we possess on the northern Athapaskan groups. Several reasons may be adduced. Perhaps three of the most influential are these: the ethnologist's interests lay elsewhere, say, in ethnographic reconstruction;¹ the work was restricted to the trading post;² the bush settlement pattern of the group consisted of scattered, isolated dwellings.³ But the facts remain that in at least the Upper Mackenzie region, the clustering of habitations of several nuclear family units into tiny villages is common. And if we may take the situation at Lynx Point as representative, these little settlements are social worlds. The interests, viewpoints, allegiances, and even the personality of a member of the bush band-community cannot be fully comprehended apart from an understanding of his community. This contention will, I hope, be demonstrated in the course of this monograph.

The focus of this study is upon the social life of one small band-community and the cultural values and understandings that shape that life. The first two chapters sketch in the larger background against which the

¹ Cornelius Osgood, *The Ethnography of the Bear Lake Indians*, National Museum of Canada Annual Report (Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1931).

² John J. Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology No. 33 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946).

³ Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology No. 40 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949).

Lynx Point people act out their social existence. In them are presented the physical, the economic, and the societal environments of the Mackenzie River region. Chapter III, more lengthy, examines the socio-cultural cosmos of Lynx Point. Up to this point, the study presents a picture that may be taken, in gross outline, as representative of Slavey kin-communities in general. The series of group economic endeavours, cited in the first paragraph as one focus of interest of the field work, is considered in Chapter IV.¹ These endeavours I have termed collectively "the Lynx Point Venture."

There has been an interval of almost a decade between the field work and this publication. Unless otherwise specified, such phrases as "today," and "at present," refer to the period of the field work—1951–52. On visits to the north in subsequent years, mainly to the Hare and to the Dogrib peoples, I have noticed many small things which I surmise represent changes occurring over the region as a whole; for example, more bush Indians seem to own shoes than was the case ten years ago. The several new day schools in the region—that at Lynx Point among them—are a matter of official record, as is the expansion of several other kinds of government service. Several of the statements in this monograph regarding wage levels and government regulations no longer hold. For example, the law prohibiting the purchase of alcoholic beverages by Indians was repealed late in 1959. Furthermore, regarding the subject of Chapter IV, "The Lynx Point Venture," I have from time to time received brief word of further events. But on the whole, I have felt it the wiser course to limit the material in this report substantially to the field period. An effort to bring the story of Lynx Point up to date by piece-meal insertions of oddments of data and of conjecture derived from other, later Northern contacts would be more of a disservice than a benefit to the reader's understanding.

THE PERIOD AND CONDITIONS OF FIELD WORK; THE ETHNOGRAPHIC DIVISION OF LABOUR

The field work at Lynx Point was carried out jointly by Teresa Carterette and me over a fourteen-month period. We arrived at Lynx Point in the final week of June 1951. In September I left the field to meet prior commitments "outside." Carterette, however, elected to continue the work alone through the winter months. In March of 1952 I rejoined her, and we left the field together at the end of August of that year. Since that time, I have twice been able to visit briefly the Lynx Point people. In 1954 I travelled by canoe along the Mackenzie River between Providence and Simpson, stopping at the community of Lynx Point for one week. In 1955 I spent two weeks in Fort Simpson taking tape recordings, during which period all Lynx Point families were in town either all or part of the time. Moreover, since 1952 there have been occasional letters exchanged with members of the community.

¹ Chapters I, II, and III represent a modified version of a doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Chicago. Chapter IV is new.

The unapproachability of the Interior Athapaskan is well known in anthropological lore. For this reason a brief account of our relations with the members of the community may be instructive. R. S. MacNeish of the National Museum of Canada made the first brief contact with the community in 1951 during the course of an archaeological reconnaissance of the Mackenzie region. From this contact came our entry into the community. This was provided by the knowledge that the Lynx Point people wanted a school teacher for their band. With one exception none of the children had ever attended school for any length of time. Under prevailing conditions a family would either have to move permanently to the trading post settlement to place its children in the government day school or send them to the Roman Catholic mission school at Providence, necessitating parting with the children for most of the year. For various reasons neither of these courses was attractive. As one Indian explained, the children would "lose the head for Lynx Point." Somewhat prepared by talks with MacNeish the previous year, we approached the key men, within hours after our arrival at the community, with the explanation that Carterette and I wished to learn how the Indians of the north lived and were offering our services as school teachers in return for the aid, ethnological and practical, that we might ask of the community. Our offer of the desired service thus overrode their anxieties concerning interlopers to the extent that there was no active resentment or hostility aroused by our entry into the community. The anxieties themselves were only slowly dissipated, despite our unremitting efforts never to seem "proud" (contemptuous, snobbish) or overbearing, characteristics greatly disliked and feared in Whites. Certainly some residue of anxiety remained to the end. But as the weeks and months passed, contact with the ethnologists ceased to arouse uneasiness and shyness, and we came to be sought as companions. We exploited our amusement value as buffoons who frequently made foolish mistakes in caring for themselves in the bush environment. It is possible that as White women we were less threatening figures than White men, seen as wielders of White authority. Except on explicitly sexual subjects and in participation in male economic activities, our sex was no handicap in interaction with the men.

During warm months we lived in a canvas wall tent, as did the other households of the community. A small cabin was repaired in the autumn of 1951 and given to Carterette as a dwelling and school-house. Its owner and occupant, Old David Mink, moved into his former, larger cabin, occupied by his daughter, her husband, and children. In summer, we gathered our own firewood for our camp-fire. In months of snow, we were supplied by the community with cordwood, which we sawed into lengths and split for our small tin stove. Water we brought by pail from the river in summer; in winter, we chopped it, as ice, from the river. Food came by canoe or dogsled from the trading store at the fort, but after a couple of months of tinned food, we found it easier and more palatable to build our meals around bannock, tea, and vitamin pills, supplemented by occasional gifts

of fresh meat or fish from members of the community. The tasks of daily living, together with the service of school teaching, borne primarily by T. Carterette, made ethnographic efforts catch-as-catch-can.

At the inception of the field period each ethnologist already had certain areas of special interest. My emphasis was on social organization in general, including kinship, economic life, the history of the community, and the particular socio-economic venture that the community was undergoing. Carterette chose to study child life and the child socialization process. Shortly after the field work began, however, she also took the subject of "brewing" and drinking behaviour among the Indians as a field of particular interest. Although each of us had these areas of special interest, we both (members of the party) collected obtainable material on all phases of contemporary life. Observations were exchanged, and field notes were always typed in duplicate so that both of us had a complete set.

It was not our primary interest to attempt to reconstruct the past way of life of these people. However, when it was possible to collect myths, folk tales, and instances of survivals of aboriginal beliefs, especially where they affected contemporary life, we took advantage of the opportunity. Lynx Point, however, was not a fruitful place in which to attempt to reconstruct earlier conditions. There were no good informants in these matters. The area of personality and culture was not of primary concern to us. However, both ethnologists did have a general interest in this subject, mainly as part of the effort to augment understanding of the present socio-cultural life of the community by all means. Toward this end Rorschach and T.A.T. projective tests were given.¹

INFORMANTS

Our work at Lynx Point was conducted almost entirely in English and predominantly by the method of participant observation. Formal interviews were few. We found it more productive to present questions and queries in the course of casual social intercourse. With these methods, the entire community, including members from the age of six, was, in a sense, our informant. In large part, too, much information and many leads as to new lines of investigation came from observation alone. Of our more important informants among the men, we drew primarily upon the extended core family of Mink and their two affinal affiliates. These men were Marcel Renard, aged 45; Henri Mink, 42; Karl Mink, 33; and Ozzie Mink, 30; as well as Daniel Heriot, age 30; and Zachary Ingram, aged 40. The first four men could speak broken English only. Henri, temperamentally, was a good informant, but his extremely limited English precluded our making extended or intensive use of him. The last two men, Daniel and Zachary, are mission-educated and have a full command of English. Daniel occasionally also served as interpreter for us during interviews with his father-in-law, Old David Mink, and in

¹ June Helm, G. A. DeVos, and Teresa Carterette, "Variations in Personality and Ego Identification Within a Slave Indian Kin-Community," unpublished manuscript.

formal business transactions. Among these men a primary informant was Marcel Renard. It is fortunate that Marcel was temperamentally suited to being a good informant—he enjoyed visiting with us and chatting on many topics, as long as our inquiries remained informal and conversational—because Marcel is an important figure in the community. Of the women of Lynx Point, our only verbal informant of any consequence was Cora Renard, aged 35, Marcel's wife. Only she and Henri's wife, Bonny Mink, spoke English. But Bonny Mink's shyness was so extreme that we could not break through except on occasions when she was intoxicated. Cora Renard was also very shy, but eventually by virtue of her basically friendly nature we were able to establish good rapport with her, and she was very helpful in explaining to us any activities observed among the women. The other women of the community, especially those who were Minks by birth, or married to Minks, served as informants by means of gesture and observation, and by virtue of the exchange of a few words in broken English or Slavey, the Athapaskan dialect of the community. The children of the community were exceedingly valuable as informants, especially in terms of the less flattering aspects of the personal relations in the community. Teresa Carterette did most of the work with the children in the course of serving throughout the winter as a school teacher, and she gained close rapport with them. Of all the children, two girls aged 13 and 12, Noreen Renard and Beatrice Heriot, were especially effective as informants. By a combination of gestures, broken English, and, on Carterette's part, broken Slavey, an impressive amount of information was exchanged.

The people of Lynx Point, even those who became close friends of ours, such as Marcel Renard and Henri Mink, never lost their anxiety that we would not give "good news for Lynx Point" (i.e., favourable comments). This anxiety is but part of a general anxiety toward any non-Lynx Pointer, Indian or White—the fear of being gossiped about and talked about. Coupled with this was a somewhat unrealistic anxiety regarding the game warden and other White authorities. Although the Lynx Point men know that, on the whole, the White authorities, such as the game warden and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, make it a point not to be overly officious regarding activities within the bush community, they nevertheless have an exaggerated anxiety about these persons, which manifests itself in conditions of intoxication.

All names of Indians in this monograph are pseudonyms, as are also the name of the community under investigation and names of localities in the immediate environment. This, however, hardly resolves the ethical problem of the protection of the informants, a protection which is necessary, not because of the White authority that might be visited upon them, but because of their own anxieties of being talked about. Since it is not difficult for anyone cognizant of the Mackenzie River region to identify this kin-community and the particular individuals discussed, I can only hope and request that every reader will see that none of the data given here is publicized or disseminated in the area in which the study took place.

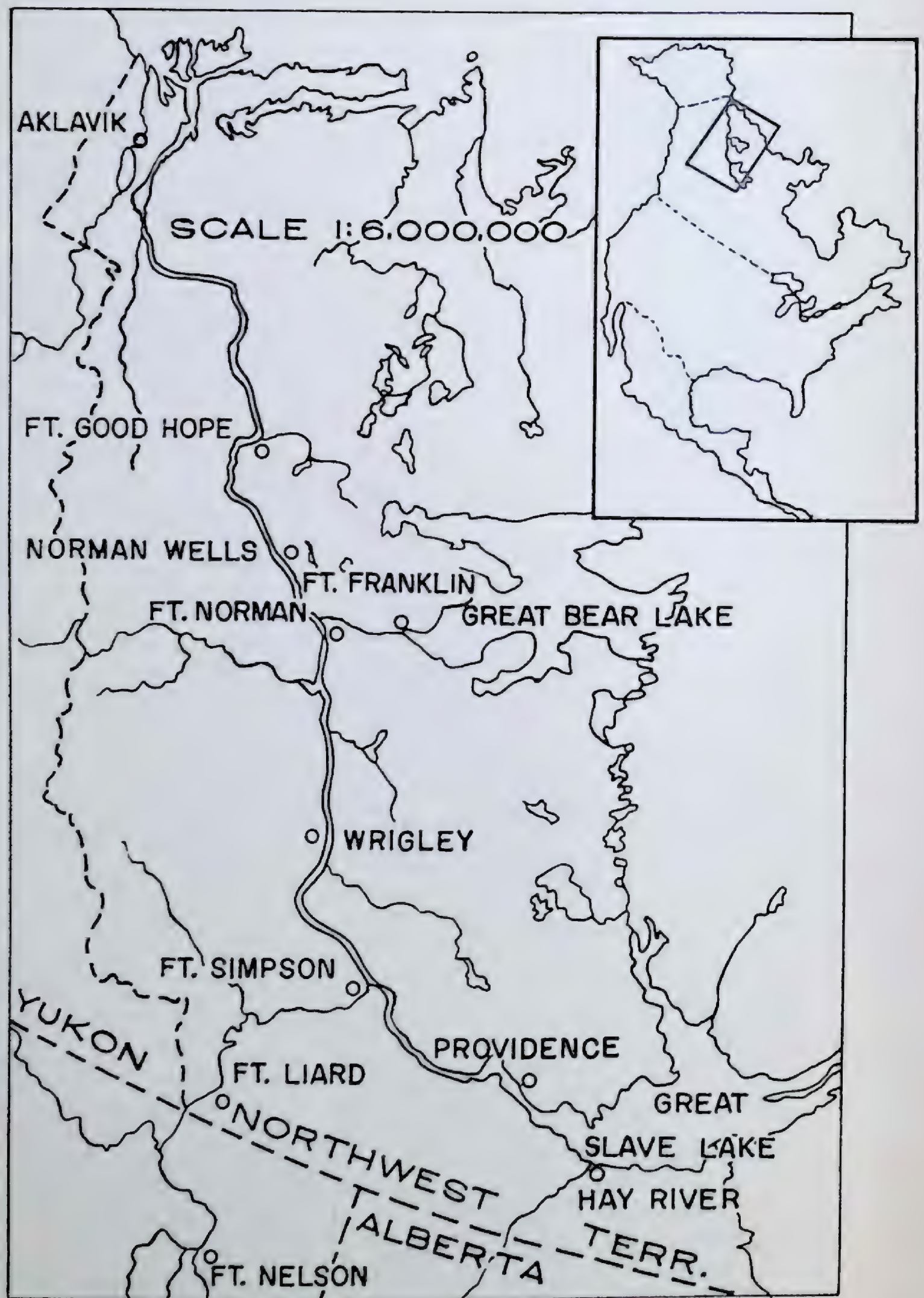


FIGURE 1.—Map of the Mackenzie River region, Canada.

CHAPTER I

THE REGION

The community of Lynx Point and its nearest trading town, Fort Simpson, are in the southern or upper Mackenzie River Valley in the Northwest Territories of Canada (*See Figure 1*). The upper Mackenzie basin is low and flat. But above Wrigley, about two hundred miles north of the Fort Simpson–Lynx Point area, the Mackenzie and the Franklin mountains approach the river on both sides. To the east of the Lynx Point area lie the low Horn Mountains, and it is in this area that some Lynx Point men hunt and trap.

The Mackenzie basin has a continental climate. The winters are long and severe, continually below freezing, but the summers are very warm for the latitude. In the summer, however, there tends to be a great drop in temperature between night and day. For example, in Fort Simpson on July 6, 1944, the maximum temperature was 75°F. and the minimum 39°F. Griffith Taylor estimates the first day of spring for the Simpson area—that is, the first day when an average of 42°F. is recorded—to be May 15, and a 120-day period of summer. Taylor points out that spring comes to Norman Wells, about three hundred miles north of Simpson, at about the same time as it does to the Gaspé Peninsula at lat. 49°N. or to the shores of the Atlantic, though Norman Wells has a latitude of over 63°N.¹

Kendrew and Currie say that for the Mackenzie basin “the year may be divided into a long winter of five months, a summer of three months, and two transition seasons of two months each.”² For Fort Simpson, lat. 61°52'N., long. 121°15'W., altitude above MSL 415 feet, they give a breakdown of the seasons as follows:

	Days
Winter (including cold winter), mid-October to early May	196
Cold winter, late November to mid-March	111
Spring, early May to mid-May	20
Summer (including warm summer), mid-May to late September	133
Warm summer, late June to mid-August	51
Autumn, late September to mid-October ³	16

Mean monthly temperature is below 32 degrees, October through April. The coldest months are December, January, and February; the daily mean temperature for these months, based on thirty-two years' observations, are –12°F., –18°F., and –11°F., respectively. Absolute extremes recorded for Simpson are 95°F. and –69°F.⁴

¹ Griffith Taylor, “Mackenzie Domesday: 1944,” *The New Northwest*, ed. C. A. Dawson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947).

² W. C. Kendrew and B. W. Currie, *The Climate of Central Canada* (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1955), p. 77.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

W. E. D. Halliday's description of the Mackenzie lowlands section of the Boreal Forest Region well describes the Simpson – Lynx Point area.

The prevailing forest cover appears to be coniferous with white spruce the major dominant, forming pure associations. Extensive fires have, however, favoured the admixture of aspen, balsam, poplar, Balm of Gilead, and Alaska white birch with the species, and the appearance of jack pine associations on the lighter soil. On the better-drained alluvial soil such as old river banks, well-developed stands of balsam and poplar are very characteristic, and the poorer-drained sites support numerous shallow black spruce and tamarack swamps, and large variants of wild hay meadows and willow scrub . . .¹

In the Mackenzie basin there are few Indians, almost all Athapaskan-speaking (Déné), and fewer Whites. The Mackenzie River region was probably always sparsely populated, and by the time the first European observers entered the area, profound disturbances in population and probably therefore in social conditions had occurred.

Of the truly aboriginal condition of the northeastern Athabascans, of course, there is no direct knowledge. In even the earliest reports it is evident that the contact situation had already wrought changes in the aboriginal way of life. Indeed, if Hearne is correct, a smallpox epidemic *circa* 1781 so destroyed the population (90 per cent of the Chipewyans in Hearne's estimate) that northeastern Athabaskan society must have been shaken to its foundations. Another indirect effect of the European world upon Déné society that preceded the first explorer was the stimulation given to the gun-bearing Crees to raid and plunder the defenceless Mackenzie River Déné for their furs. Whole populations fled their home territories in consequence. But of the particular movements we have little detail.²

For many decades, until after World War II, tuberculosis and other introduced diseases exercised a steady attrition upon the native population. As more effective health services were instituted at this time by the Canadian government, the Indian population is now on an upswing. The 1941 census gives a total Indian population of 1,386 for the Mackenzie River forts of Hay River, Providence, Fort Liard, Simpson, Wrigley, and Fort Norman.³ This figure gives us roughly the total number of Slave Indians in the Northwest Territories. A few more are to be found in Northern Alberta. The Simpson area, in which the community of Lynx Point is included, had, by government estimate at that time, a total population of 378 Indians. Griffith Taylor, surveying the Mackenzie region in 1944, reports about fifteen Indian families living in Fort Simpson at that time.⁴ The official population, besides the Indian figures, for the whole Simpson district in 1941 included 76 Whites, but 45 of them resided in Simpson itself. At the inception of the field work, the Lynx Point community comprised 56 individuals, of which

¹W. E. D. Halliday, *Canada, Dept. of Mines and Resources, Forest Service, Bulletin No. 89* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1937), p. 13.

²June Helm MacNeish, "Leadership among the Northeastern Athabascans," *Anthropologica*, II (Ottawa, 1956), 131-32.

³The most recent departmental census of the Indian Affairs Branch of the Canadian Government, made in 1954, "shows that there are 4,023 Indians in the Northwest Territories, all of whom live in the western part of the region along the Mackenzie River drainage system." From an address on "The Northern Indian" delivered by Eric Acland of the Indian Affairs Branch to the Canadian Political Science Association study group, January 21, 1958.

⁴Taylor, *op. cit.*

about 22 were adult. That was in 1951. Since that time the community has lost two of its aged members but has gained at least ten children (by 1957).

The fur trade has always been the lure to White penetration and settlement in the Mackenzie River region. The present-day settlement pattern reflects the transportation demands of that trade. The European communities, almost all instituted as trading forts (the few exceptions being Roman Catholic missionary sites to which the fur traders came), are all situated on the Mackenzie River proper, or, in one instance, in the upper Mackenzie region on the Liard River, a major tributary of the Mackenzie. These locations are necessary for the shipping of furs. All fur is shipped out in the summer by water. Fort MacMurray in Alberta early became the headquarters for receiving fur shipments, and today the railroad runs that far north to gather the furs from the Mackenzie region.

The Indian settlements in the bush have tended to align themselves along the main water arteries. Probably this has become more and more common in recent decades as the Indian consumption of Euro-American goods and their dependence on them have increased. The river routes allow for the transportation by canoe, in the warm months of the year, of greater quantities of goods, furs for market, or consumption goods for the bush camp than can ever be carried by dog-sled in the winter. With the exception of Hay River at the south end of Great Slave Lake, which has developed a fishing industry and become a transportation jump-off point to the north, and of Norman Wells on the lower Mackenzie River, a recently developed oil field, the White-settled communities along the Mackenzie maintain the historical pattern. These classic communities are Providence, Liard, Fort Simpson, Wrigley, and Fort Norman. Spaced about 150 miles apart, they owe their existence to the fur trade, drawing upon the Indians in a radius around them who are exploiting the animals of the bush for furs and trading them into the post. Such evidence as can be gathered from informants concerning earlier times indicates that the more aboriginal condition of settlement for the Indian was deeper into the bush, centring around "fish lakes," which provided food when land game failed. Today, the Indian bush communities have moved to the river for easy access to the fort. Also, they have become much more stabilized. Log cabins, in other words permanent dwellings, are now built. People either live in them most of the year round or work out from them as bases for their trap-line activities.

The factors in this increased "sederunty"¹ are several. For one thing, the increase in material possessions makes their continual moving about less feasible. And of course when furs can be traded for food, the mobility demanded by the old-time food quest is obviated. The government's actions have been the decisive factor in the settling of the Indian at a permanent base. For many decades there was the trap-line allotment which, by allowing

¹ Honigmann in *Fort Nelson Slave* coins this term "to express the tendency of the society to abandon unlimited mobility in favor of settled or permanent patterns of residence." *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

a man to trap only along a certain route in the bush, made a fully mobile camp life pointless. By building a permanent log cabin on or near the trap-line, the trapper could go out from it and return frequently in his exploitation of the fur animals. The trap-line system has recently been superseded in most sections of the Mackenzie region by the band-area allotment system. Today, and this is the case at Lynx Point, the group trapping within the area has been allotted the area as a whole. They may set their trap-lines as they wish within the area, observing other persons' priorities, but they may not go outside that area to trap without government consent. This is a further factor in the stabilization of the bush community.

The major focus of the people under study is within their own community, Lynx Point. However, since their contacts with the White world and their economic dependency upon it are channelled primarily through the community of Fort Simpson and secondarily through the communities of Providence and Hay River, a brief description of these is necessary. Providence and Hay River are very secondary attenuated points of contact for the Lynx Point people. Providence, above Lynx Point, was founded not as a trading fort but as a Roman Catholic mission, and its main White complement today is the mission school, church, and the Hudson's Bay Company. The connection of the two settlements is primarily social. Several members of the community have married into Lynx Point from the Providence area. Hay River, at the southern shore of Great Slave Lake, is visited by Lynx Point people only rarely and then by the men in line of work. Hay River is the northern end of the all-weather road running from Edmonton, Alberta, to Great Slave Lake. Into Hay River are shipped ores from Yellowknife on Slave Lake to be sent south. A fishing industry, also sending its produce to the south, has developed at Hay River. Hay River has a predominantly White personnel, and it offers to visiting Indians such attractions as bootlegged liquor.

Fort Simpson, founded in 1802, is one of the largest and earliest of the trading forts of the Mackenzie. For a period it was the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company for the whole Mackenzie region, and previous to that, it has been occupied by representatives of the Northwest Company. Fort Simpson is located at the junction of the Liard and Mackenzie rivers. It is on an island separated from the mainland by "the Sny," a shallow channel of water, which being frozen over in winter and dried out in summer makes access to the mainland easy. As part of Fort Simpson there is an airfield, built in World War II, located 12 miles up the Liard River. In its early days Fort Simpson was relatively cosmopolitan. In the nineteenth century, Indians of many tribes and even Eskimos passed through it, as it was the hub of the fur trade in the Mackenzie region.¹

Today Fort Simpson is one of the larger settlements on the Mackenzie. It has a considerably larger complement of White personnel than such forts as Wrigley, Norman, or Providence. The only economic activities of any

¹ P. Duchaussois, *Mid Snow and Ice: The Apostles of the Northwest* (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne Ltd., 1923).

consequence at Fort Simpson revolve around the fur trade. However, it has a greater number of governmental and religious institutions than have most trading forts along the river.

A rough breakdown of the composition of the White community is as follows: the Hudson's Bay Company store, two free traders' stores, and two part-time trading and store-keeping establishments; a Royal Canadian Mounted Police post manned by two policemen; a post office; a government day school; a hospital run by Roman Catholic nuns; a Catholic Church run by Oblate priests and lay brothers, and an Anglican church staffed by a missionary and his family; an experimental agricultural station with an administrator and his family; a resident doctor who also serves as a part-time Indian agent; a game warden and mammalogist; a few White trappers; a Canadian Army Signal Corps unit serving primarily as a weather station and manned by about fifteen Armed Force members; and, formerly, a sawmill. Also, at the airfield, now serviced by a commercial line at regular intervals, there is a complement of Department of Transport workers.

Except for those employees of the Department of Transport who serve at the airfield, the other White members of the Fort Simpson community live on the high ground of the island, most of their dwellings facing the Mackenzie River. The distribution of the population of Simpson is rather significant in this respect, for the Whites live upon the high ground, the half-breed or *métis* families live on the high ground and at the edge of the slope down into the "flats" at the south end of the island, and the permanent Indian members of the community live on the "flats." Here, also, visiting bush Indians pitch their tents.

The mixed bloods or half-breeds, legally of White status, number around half a dozen families, although these might be grouped into fewer and larger extended-family units. They earn their living by casual labour and trapping, but for the most part they are year-round residents of Fort Simpson. The half-breeds serve in terms of social intercourse as a bridge between the White and Indian community. They work for the Whites, have some quasi-social, mainly male-companion relationships with the Whites and, also, according to inclination, are more or less interdigitated into the Indian community. Half-breed women occasionally marry into the White community, the few instances at hand being primarily with non-commissioned officers of the Signal Corps unit. The half-breeds are of Scotch or French ancestry mixed with Indian. The Indian extraction may be of several tribal stocks: Cree, Interior Athapaskan, Loucheux, and so forth. In a few instances, *métis* women, legally classified as Whites, have also married into the Indian community. There are, of course, casual sexual affairs between all three of these social groups (excepting the few White women, who do not make themselves available to half-breed or Indian men). Besides the indigenous Slave Indians, there are a few individuals from other tribes living at Simpson. There are, for example, a Cree Indian, a veteran of World War I, who is a trapper residing in Simpson, and a Loucheux woman married to a Slavey half-breed.

Most of the Indians who trade at Fort Simpson do not live there except for occasional, short-term visits. There are about a dozen families legally classified as Indian who do live at Fort Simpson or across the river from it the year round. A few more families have log cabins at the fort, often inherited from a relative, which they may occupy seasonally. All the Indians at Fort Simpson and in the surrounding area are classified on the band rolls as members of the Fort Simpson band. However, there is no evidence of any real *esprit de corps* among the members of the greater Indian community around Fort Simpson or within the community between the different races. The local magistrate and the Mounted Police at the fort say that frequently members of the mixed blood and Indian community report their fellows to White authorities as a means of getting revenge, suggesting very little sense of real community or racial unity. The situation seems to be similar to that described by Honigmann for the Fort Nelson Slave.¹ This situation, as we shall see in the body of the work, stands in contrast to the type of group *esprit* evinced by the bush community of Lynx Point. The clue to the discrepancy probably lies in the fact that the Fort Simpson Indian community is not a kin-community. Rather, it is made up of several family lines, with factionalism apparently following some of those lines.

The status of the Indians of the Northwest Territories *vis-à-vis* the Canadian Government is summarized as follows in a report of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Canada, which is responsible for the administration of the Northwest Territories:

Indians in the Northwest Territories, as elsewhere in Canada, are not wards of the government but have a special status under the Indian Act which is administered by the Indian Affairs Branch of the Federal Department of Citizenship and Immigration . . . Education of the Indians of the Territories is the responsibility of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

In other parts of Canada Indians may live on reserves and may then claim freedom from taxation on property, which is exempt from seizure. In the Northwest Territories there are no reserves and the Athabaskans do not enjoy these benefits. On the other hand, being subject to taxation, they are entitled to vote in federal elections, a privilege denied to Indians living on reserves unless they agree to pay income tax or are war veterans or their wives. In effect the legal status of the Indians of the Northwest Territories differs from that of non-Indians only in their being subject to the regulations of the Indian Act and entitled to special government services under it; among these services are education, relief in time of difficulty, medical treatment, technical advice, and various kinds of financial assistance to produce a more suitable economy.²

The Indian population living around each fort along the Mackenzie, and trading there, is designated as a "band" by the government. Each "band" has a chief, and several subchiefs or headmen. Just prior to the field work, the same elderly Indian had been chief at Simpson for several years, having been appointed, according to Indian informants, by the local doctor who then served as representative of the Indian Affairs Branch. Since that

¹ Honigmann, *Fort Nelson Slave*.

² *Peoples of the Northwest Territories*, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Northern Administration and Lands Branch (Ottawa: the Queen's Printer, 1957), p. 11.

time, yearly elections have been held for chief and headmen. Each headman usually comes from a different section of the Fort Simpson Band area. Marcel Renard of Lynx Point has been a headman in recent years. The chiefs and headmen are supposed to act as spokesmen and channels of communication between Indians and White authorities. They have no actual powers, a fact clearly recognized by the Indians, who accord no special respect to the office, except in so far as the individual occupying it is worthy of it. According to Honigmann the same situation holds among the Fort Nelson Slave and the Lower Post Kaska of British Columbia.¹

Every year each Indian receives five dollars from the Federal Government as "Treaty money," and chiefs and subchiefs receive twenty-five dollars and fifteen dollars, respectively. This is in accord with the provision of the Treaty of 1921,² which established their present status. Today, to pay "Treaty," the Indian Agent, whose headquarters is at Fort Norman near Bear Lake, visits each fort in the course of the summer.

Rather than devote further discussion here to Indian-White relations, since this report focuses upon the Indian community, they will be introduced from time to time throughout the text as they relate to the various areas of Indian life.³

¹ Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society*.

² *Treaty No. 11 (June 27, 1921) and Adhesion (July 17, 1922) with Reports, etc.*, Reprinted from the edition of 1926 (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1957).

³ For an assessment of Indian relations with and acculturation to White Canadian society, see June Helm MacNeish, "Problems of Acculturation and Livelihood in a Northern Indian Band," *Contributions à l'Etude des Sciences de l'Homme*, III (Montreal, 1956), 169-81.

CHAPTER II

THE ECOLOGY AND ECONOMICS OF LYNX POINT

THE HOUSEHOLD

Daily Routine

Although the household activities of the day are not strictly scheduled, a certain routine is commonly followed. Adults usually rise between 6:00 and 7:00 A.M. One sleeps fully clothed, and there is little in the way of a morning toilet. The first concern is to build the fire; the first person to arise does this, often the husband. He may also start the tea or other food preparations. The three meals a day are commonly taken in the morning, around two in the afternoon, and about eight at night. Family eating is often a piecemeal process, especially if, for example, only two or four fish are being broiled at a time.

In the summer, water is fetched daily in buckets from the Mackenzie. In winter, several days' supply may be brought up in an oil barrel from the family water-hole in the ice—the community-owned horse pulling it on a sledge up the bank to the house.

Several days' supply of firewood is brought to the household at one time, but there is the daily chore of sawing it into lengths with a cross-cut saw and splitting it. Firewood is cut and stacked in the bush to season a year or so in advance of use. One informant estimated that the smallest type of cabin (about twelve by twelve feet, with a low roof) requires fifteen cords of wood for the winter season. The horse is now used by each household for sledging the logs into the village in winter. He can pull two to three times the amount that a dog-team can. In summer, most of the wood used is driftwood, gathered by canoe or skiff.

Another chore, usually performed daily, is checking the rabbit snares. As many as fifty snares may be set in the bush by one household. Each family unit will also have one to four gill nets placed at eddies in the river. In summer, especially, some of these may be several miles distant, and they are ordinarily visited daily by canoe. They are set through holes chopped in the ice in winter. Snares and nets are usually visited in the afternoon.

Toward evening, the dogs are fed. Sometimes, when the supply is plentiful, each dog is merely thrown a fish or rabbit, but often they must be fed on "dog soup" (or "dog brew"), a gruel of "dog rice" or rolled oats, simmered for hours in a five-gallon gas tin over an outdoor fire. The gruel is then allowed to cool, afterwards being poured into individual feeding

cans placed beside the staked dogs. Dogs appear to be consistently underfed, but especially so in the summertime, because, it is explained, "they don't work" in that season.

There is no set bedtime; each member of the family retires when he wishes, by simply lying down fully clothed and covering himself with his blanket. The rest of the family, and any visitors, will continue their activities around him. Older children from the age of twelve on are usually free to stay up and out of the house as long as they wish. Younger ones are frequently called home by 10:00 p.m. By midnight, the family is usually asleep.

Women's Household Activities

Women's work, revolving as it does around the household and child care, varies much less with the seasons than that of the men. Washing of clothes and housecleaning are either performed by the adult women or delegated to female children. Cooking is primarily a woman's task, but men or children of either sex may also contribute. Scrubbing the floor in preparation for Sunday is a Saturday chore for most women.

When the husband is absent or occupied, the wife or older children haul the water, saw the wood, and check the snares and nets. If the husband is free, he often performs these tasks.

Most women own a small hand-cranked sewing machine, and they often make, from yard goods, various items of their own or their children's apparel, such as shirts, undershirts, and dresses. A few items of men's clothing are commonly home-made also. These are the moosehide mitts, gloves, and moccasins, duffel (blanket-cloth) wrappings for the feet, knitted socks, and the dark blue cotton gabardine parkas. Similar items are also made for the children.

Mitts, moccasins, and parkas are commonly decorated. Silk embroidery in flower motifs adorn the parka yokes and the mitts. Moccasin tongues (except for undecorated "work moccasins") may be decorated with silk embroidery on stroud, or may be beaded or covered with an over-all geometric design of dyed porcupine quills. Less commonly, the quillwork may be executed in a floral motif. Parkas are also trimmed with fur (usually fox or wolverine) around the face and cuffs, with a double fringe of blue and red stroud around the embroidered yokes and with a rickrack edging along the hems. Gloves and mitts always have fur edgings and, if a gauntlet style, a fringe of moosehide along the outer seam of the cuff.

Footwear is a major and continual item of production for women. Only two or three individuals in the community own shoes of Euro-American manufacture, and they are purely for novelty. Several pairs of moccasins a year are required by each individual (they tear quickly if they become wet while worn). The common form is the ankle-wrap variety. The lowers are always of moosehide; the uppers, or ankle wrapping pieces, may be of moosehide, caribou hide, or canvas. Moccasin slippers, i.e., without the ankle uppers, are occasionally made and are trimmed with fur around the top. Mid-calf (for women) or knee-high (for men) mukluks are an

occasional novelty. Though derived from the Eskimo boot (and called "Eskimo moccasin" in Slavey), the lower, or foot, part is of standard soft moccasin design. A woman will commonly have a pair of fancily embroidered moccasins in process, usually for her husband, which she will work on at odd moments.

Other items of female handiwork are snowshoe webbing, braided moosehide dogwhips, moosehide gun cases, usually fringed and beaded or embroidered, beaded ammunition pouches of black velvet or stroud, black cloth moss bags for infants, sometimes decorated, and fancily worked back-carrying straps for babies.

It will be noted that many of the foregoing items, especially the important moccasins and mitts, are made of tanned hide. The preparation of hides is a vital feminine activity. As it is a time-consuming occupation requiring a fair degree of physical strength, girls do not actively begin to learn the techniques until they are in their 'teens. Moose are the primary source of hides; the finished product is one-sixteenth to one-quarter inch thick. Caribou hide is very thin and delicate in comparison to moose and is used only for moccasin ankle-uppers or light gloves. (As babiche and rawhide, it serves for moccasin webbing and drum heads.) The major steps in hide preparation are as follows: an overnight soaking; removal of the mesentery (to be cooked and eaten) and of the hair by cutting and scraping; two days of soaking in a solution made from boiled moose (or bear) bones and soap; another scraping (while wet) of both sides; wringing and drying over a fire; a further scraping (when dry); and four hours of smoking over a smouldering fire of rotten spruce wood for final softening and for preventing it from becoming permanently stiff, should it become wet. Various forms of scrapers and fleshers are used in hide preparation. Stones or bevel-ended moose long bones may be used; or they may be made of various kinds of metal, perhaps from the lid of the tobacco tin, punched to make a grater-like object, or from a piece of trap.

Women share with men the ability to handle and shoot a .22 rifle (for rabbit hunting), to harness and drive dogs, to set traps for squirrel and weasel, and to set rabbit snares and weave gill nets. Some women know the techniques of trapping in general; widowhood often calls for the development of these abilities.¹

THE SEASONS

Introduction

Any discussion of the subsistence of the natives of the Mackenzie region is made awkward by the fact that many game and trapping regulations are in effect throughout the area. Furthermore, these regulations vary from one section of the region to another and change from time to

¹ In contrast to the men, the Lynx Point women were not observed to tinker with mechanical objects. Nor do any of them know how to use such mechanical items as the outboard motor, although Marcel states that some of the women of Fort Providence do know how to run outboards.

time. During the period of field work (1951–1952) some restrictions attached to all food animals except rabbits and caribou; for fish, the sole restriction is the forbidding of the use of fish weirs or traps. Moose hunting is legal only in winter, and only one moose a year for each hunter may be taken. Ducks, geese, and bears are “open” only for a brief period toward autumn. Porcupines are “closed” all year. Snaring of any of the large animals is illegal. Caribou are “open” for hunting, but they are not reliable sources of supply in the area around Lynx Point.¹ The animals just named comprise the types of meat foods commonly eaten, with the exception of certain trapped fur-bearing animals that are considered edible.

For a people who, by inclination and economic necessity, derive much of their sustenance from the game of the bush, the restrictions are a source of continual resentment and give rise to such ironic jokes as “they are going to ‘close’ mice next.” The common attitude toward the game laws among inhabitants of the region of both races is one of staunch *laissez faire*. There is no moral problem involved in breaking a game law—the only question is whether or not one can “get away with it.”

Late Spring and Summer

“Break-up” marks the end of the winter season. From early April the thaw is under way. Around the first of May, the jammed and heaped ice in Lynx Creek starts to move. For a week or more, the little river displays fitful bursts of activity as its ice grinds out onto the still-frozen Mackenzie, jams and then gives way before a further thrust of floes. The Mackenzie ice moves perhaps a week after Lynx Creek is clear. Its floes travel silently in great solid sheets. The initial flood of pent-up water often leaves the village beach hidden under massive slabs of ice. After the initial movement of Mackenzie ice, there are a few days of relatively clear water, and the community watches for the one final mass of floes that signifies the clearing of the mouth of Great Slave Lake. Beached ice continues to rim the Mackenzie shore into June.

The interest surrounding break-up is intense. As the men return from the “spring hunt,” paddling down the open Lynx Creek, they join the women and children in observing and commenting on each stage of the Mackenzie break-up. Mid-May through August is ecologically one season. The days are warm, and in July and August even the nights are mild.

Once the Mackenzie clears, the big diesel-engined river-boats appear, pushing barges of supplies north to the mining and oil camps and to the trading forts. The men of Lynx Point can identify each boat and its pilot, and throughout the summer as these vessels pass and repass, the males of the community gather on the banks to watch their progress. Down the Liard and the Mackenzie come fresh supplies to the trading establishments at Fort Simpson, and orders for “fresh stuff”—oranges, apples, eggs, vegetables—are sent in from Lynx Point as some of the men make the first canoe trips of the season to the fort.

¹ Some of these restrictions have since been altered.

During the two summers of field work, two sets of missionaries, belonging to evangelist sects, came down the Mackenzie by power-boat. In both cases, a loudspeaker played recorded hymns for a while, as the men of Lynx Point squatted solemnly on the beach with some of the more forward children, while the women and other youngsters looked on from a distance. Any visit will bring forth this same greeting pattern. The missionaries chatted, passed out tracts and booklets, and, in one case, held a short meeting. The Indians accept everything passively. As yet, there has been no real effort on the part of the evangelist groups to proselytize Indians north of Hay River.¹

Even before break-up, some families move into tents on the edge of the upper terrace overlooking the beach. As the ice melts from the shore, tents are pitched on the beach and the houses stand empty. Commercial canvas tents are used. A prepared platform of boards, large strips of spruce bark, or springy spruce boughs (changed every few days) is laid as flooring. Canvas sun-shelters are rigged at the doors of the tents, and various pole racks and sometimes tables are erected near by.

All hunting and travelling expeditions in the summer are primarily by water transport, as the muskeg, thickets, tree windfall, and especially the insects in the bush make overland travel extremely arduous. By June, it is only near the water that one can escape the mosquitoes, and even there they grow vigorous at night and net mosquito bars are necessary for sleeping. The "bulldogs," large biting flies, are present throughout July, and in the bush the mosquitoes and black flies are vicious. By August only the black flies are left in any number, and they do not frequent the open camp area.

Summer is a time of travel and visiting for recreation. Throughout the spring, canvas canoes are patched and painted, "kickers" (outboard motors) are overhauled, and plank scows are caulked in preparation for summer travel. The sound of a "kicker" on the river is frequently heard—families going into Simpson or *en route* to a visit with relatives, or men out on a hunting or fishing jaunt. Some Indians, but not Lynx Point band members, spend protracted periods in summer at the fort, simply visiting and vacationing. Sometimes the travellers stop to visit a friend or relative at Lynx Point. Only in summer are the Lynx Point women likely to get a non-emergency trip to Simpson. The men, of course, as in the winter, make several trips for supplies. The process of travelling is in itself a recreation. But at all times in travelling the men remain alert, with rifles close at hand, for any game from ducks to moose. Frequently, the canoe will stop at good bluefishing spots along the shore. There are always peeled poplar fishing poles in readiness in the canoe, and everyone joins in angling for bluefish, the most succulent of the river fish. Perhaps thirty minutes will be spent fishing—one individual may catch a score or more in that time. A fire is made, and some of the catch is consumed on the spot. This is the common practice when any amount of fish or game is taken.

¹ An exception is an evangelical mission at Aklavik, in the delta of the Mackenzie River. Its main converts are Eskimo, but possibly some of the local Loucheux (Kutchin) Indians are involved.

A visit to Fort Simpson may provide several recreational delights not available at Lynx Point. For the women and children especially, the novelty of new faces and of the goods at the trading posts is enjoyable. The men and boys often attend the once-a-week movie, women and girls, rarely. On Sunday, there are church services. In former years, the payment of "Treaty money" was an important event that drew most of the surrounding population to Simpson. According to the Indian Agent, interest in the event has declined somewhat; recent government orders restrict the donation by the Agent of flour, lard, rice, tea, and other comestibles for the preparation of the post-Treaty feasts and dancing, and the Agent predicts that this will further lessen the interest in Treaty. Certainly for a decade or more the five dollar Treaty payment has been of financial interest to only the children and perhaps some women. A week's stay in Simpson will consume, in foodstuffs alone, a family's Treaty money.

The social highlights of the time around Treaty are the "tea dances." The chief usually sponsors at least one tea dance. Tea and comestibles are served in a near-by dwelling in the course of the dance. Sub-chiefs may give dances also, and unsponsored dances may occur as well.

Actually there are two forms of dancing, only one of which, properly speaking, is the "tea dance." The tea dance is never performed first, and it may not be performed in the course of the evening. The first kind of dance, which goes on for several hours, is the "drum dance." This dance must be held within some sort of structure—a large tent usually. Three or more drummer-singers provide the music. Their drums are made of caribou rawhide stretched across a wooden circular frame. Two or three lines of babiche run across the head, providing a buzzing or rattling snare effect to accompany the deep resonant boom as the head is beaten with a peeled willow stick. The drummer holds the drum by babiche lines stretched across the underside.

There are several wordless chants of different melodies which the drummers sing as they provide a fast, steady or double beat on the drums. The drummers commence each dance session seated, drumming and singing relatively softly. No one dances. Then, in three to five minutes, the tempo and strength of their beat and voices leap as they rise to their feet, and the first dancers, men, take the floor. The step is basically a few hops, perhaps four, first on one foot, then on the other. Men may twist and turn their bodies as they dance, yip, and yell, or show other signs of virtuosity. The women, who come to the "floor" after several men have started, use only a jogging shuffle that often seems to defy the rhythm of the beat. The dancers form a sort of conga line, front to back, that travels in a circle. The women often place their hands on the waist of the woman in front of them and tend to squeeze together so tightly that any coordinated movement is impossible. Each session lasts ten or fifteen minutes, or more. At each pause, between sessions, as the drummer-singers rest, boys carry the drums to a camp-fire near by, holding the drums over the fire for several minutes to tune them by shrinking the heads with the heat.

Drum dancing usually starts about nine in the evening. If the mood and enjoyment of the crowd hold, by 2:00 or 3:00 A.M. the tea dancing in an open space outside begins. The tea-dance music, again a wordless chant, is provided solely by the voices of the dancers. The chant consists of a three-part melody, then about four bars of soft humming, then the louder reiteration of the melody again. Each tea-dance session begins by four or five men linking arms, facing inward in a circle and commencing the chant. After a few moments they begin to shuffle or hop sideways in a clock-wise direction. During the course of each dance session, which may run twenty minutes or more, new dancers break in and link arms with those already there, expanding the circle. The end of each set of tea dancing depends on the energy of those men who wish to keep the dancing going. Several times the voices and steps of the dancers may lag, only to be taken up more vigorously by a few young blades, so that the round revivifies and continues with only a few persons, exhausted ethnologists usually among them, dropping out of the circle. The tea dancing usually ends between 5:30 and 8:00 A.M.

For married women, even if they do not care to dance, the dances provide spectator entertainment and opportunity to comment and gossip with friends. Adult men may, if they wish, display their virtuosity and endurance in dancing or drumming. For the unmarried set, dancing provides rich opportunity for flirting and physical contact in the crowded dancing circles. Either in racing and playing on the outskirts or in watching the dancers, children find novelty and entertainment.

"Fiddle dances," with violins and guitars providing jigs, reels, and "cowboy music," are sometimes held in the fort, but they are not a summer or Treaty feature.

The aboriginal stick gambling game, traditionally played when large groups gathered, had not been played at Simpson since 1928. In that year a terrible influenza epidemic wiped out most of the elderly people. In mourning for the "old people" the game was not played in the years following and was never reinstated. (Many of the younger adult generation of Fort Simpson saw the game for the first time in 1955 when visiting "Liard men" reintroduced it.)

Since the Indian Agent is present in Simpson for Treaty, it is a time when grievances may be aired or requests made by the Indians. (The resident doctor serves as government representative to the Indians for the rest of the year.)¹ Also, new government regulations or expectations are explained at this time, and the Indians attending the meeting may be asked to present their opinions on certain issues, such as projected changes in game regulations, for example. In the last few years, a mobile X-ray unit has accompanied the Treaty party. Apparently the majority of Indians who are in Simpson at that time do take advantage of the anti-tuberculosis service.

¹ A sub-agency with a full-time agent was in the process of being established at Fort Simpson as of 1955.

Various men from Lynx Point have worked at summer jobs in Simpson—digging house foundations for new buildings at the now defunct saw-mill or for the agricultural agent, for example. Three Lynx Point men and their families moved from the village to the fort to work for part of the summer of 1952.

At most Indian settlements there are one or more gardens under cultivation, producing potatoes and sometimes turnips, and occasionally other vegetables. There are three gardens currently (1952) being planted at Lynx Point, and during the last half of May they are plowed, hoed, mattocked by hand, and seeded. Occasional weeding may be done throughout the summer. Summer is also the time for house repairs and building of any new structures.

In this season, as in others, much of the sustenance is provided by the natural products of the region, and most of the man-hours of labour are directed toward these ends. In the first few weeks after the Mackenzie breaks, bluefish and suckers are running up the smaller streams. (There is later, in August, a good period for bluefish angling.) Forty or fifty fish a day may be snared in gill nets. Some families may move to the mouths of streams rich in fish during this season to make "dry fish." Any fish not immediately consumed are gutted and split open, then hung over poles to be dried by the sun. This preserves them for a period of several months.¹ Dry fish are intended primarily as dog food and are used for human consumption only when more desirable foods are lacking. Fish weirs were formerly constructed in the streams, but game laws now forbid them. Since they may be easily seen from the game warden's airplane, there is no attempt to operate illicit weirs. Fish commonly taken in gill nets are jackfish (pike), dory (pickerel), suckers (varieties of carp), bluefish (Arctic grayling), connies (*poisson inconnu*), and, rarely, whitefish. Jackfish are the major catch. Only bluefish and whitefish are valued for human food, though the other kinds will, on occasion, be eaten. Angling for bluefish has already been mentioned.

Rabbits, snared or shot, may on occasion be sun-dried. Once in a while in the summer a bear may discover a rabbit snare line and will visit it regularly, stealing the catch. The snare owner may attempt to snare or shoot him.

Migratory waterfowl such as ducks, geese, and cranes are available in summer and are prized as delicacies. Moose and black bears are the only big game in the summer. The flesh of edible mammals is preserved during hot weather, as are fish, by sun drying. Large chunks of meat are transformed into thin sheets by the women, who cut the thick pieces of flesh in an accordin-pleated fashion, slicing almost through the chunk, first on one side then on the other, so that it stretches out into one thin piece. Usually the meat is hung over a smouldering fire for the first two days; green poplar leaves may be thrown on the flames from time to time. The resulting smoke is not considered necessary for the drying process but is employed to drive

¹One informant states that one band toward Great Slave Lake smokes the fish with willow, imparting an agreeable flavour. This is not practised at Lynx Point.

away the flies that would infest the meat with their eggs. When there is "nothing else to do," or when meat supplies run short, or when a fresh large game "sign" has been noted in the bush or on the river-banks, the men will go out for a day or two of hunting—usually in two's.

There is little reliance on wild plant foods. Among these are ten or so varieties of edible berries, including cranberries, raspberries, strawberries, blueberries, bearberries, and "hips," but they are no more than a delicacy in the diet. The women and children do the berry-picking; the main purpose of the expeditions is recreational—an outing. In the same way, children may be taken into the bush in early summer to scrape and chew the fresh bark of young poplar trees. Throughout the year, children gather spruce gum for chewing. Wild onions are likewise an occasional novelty. Certain mushrooms are known to be edible if they are picked before they become infested with insects and larvae, but no instance of their consumption was noted. Also, during the summer the women must gather and heap for drying enough moss to serve the babies' diaper needs throughout the coming winter.

In August, the first preparations for winter begin at Lynx Point as three or four expeditions are made to grassy areas a few miles down the Mackenzie to cut hay with scythes for the winter food supply of the community-owned horse. Throughout the summer some of the men and women mend and wash the forty or more large nets to be used for the autumn fishing in Great Slave Lake.

Around the middle of August, with the insects abating, families start dismantling their tents and moving back into the houses.

Autumn

The major event of the season is the fishing expedition to Great Slave Lake. Those Indians of the Great Slave and Upper Mackenzie region who possess scows of adequate size may go to the "fall fishery" as do the Lynx Point men. Using a sixty-foot barge pushed by a power-boat, the Lynx Point band has the biggest vessel—their record catch in 1949 was 27,000 fish.

Departure for Great Slave Lake is usually between September 15th and 25th, with the return in early October. First, however, a trip to Simpson is made for supplies—oil, gas, and food. Two or three of the men remain at Lynx Point to hunt and provide for the women and children. One or two Indians or half-breeds from Simpson accompany the power-boat to the fishery. There are usually several petitioners for these positions—since men who do not own a vessel of some size would ordinarily be unable to go—and the ones selected are chosen by virtue of their being "good workers." In return for their labour, the non-Lynx Point men receive the same number of fish that each Lynx Point family gets, the actual amount depending upon the size of the catch.

The major catch in Great Slave Lake is whitefish, with some jackfish. At spots in the lake known to be rich in fish, several rows of nets, ten nets in each row, are set out. Wooden floats and rock weights, with a large rock

at each end of a net, control the position of the nets. Each set of nets is visited twice a day, at daybreak and about 6.00 P.M., by two men in a skiff. The resulting catch of fish is then transferred from the skiffs to the barge. The fish are skewered, in groups of ten, on peeled willow sticks, each set being a "stick of fish." Freezing weather is common at this time of year—a coating of ice once threatened to sink the barge—and the discomfort of working amid wind and water at these temperatures is often extreme. Great Slave Lake is usually rough, and sometimes the boat must sit out a two- or three-day blow in a sheltering cove. The time is spent in mending nets and in aimless recreation.

The amount of catch is variable—fluctuating in a three-year period from 2,700 sticks (27,000 fish) in 1949 to 920 sticks in 1951. In the latter year, each worker received 60 sticks, most of which were consumed by Christmas. An informant estimated that 125 sticks is the amount sufficient to last a household and its dogs throughout the winter. If there is a sufficient supply, these fish serve as dog food all winter, thus circumventing a not inconsiderable expenditure on commercial feed; they also serve for human consumption. As the fish have frozen, no further preparation of them is necessary, and they are simply piled on one's roof or in the cache house for storage. A compromise must be struck between the number of sticks desired for consumption and the number that must be sold to pay debts for the operation of the power-boat at the fishery. Fish are sold in Simpson either to the Catholic mission hospital for food for the patients, or to the Hudson's Bay Company where they are resold to local natives at an advanced price.

Upon the return from the trip to Simpson to deliver the fish, the power-boat and barge are beached for the winter, for by this time ice is forming in the rivers. Besides the usual subsistence activities, the other autumn duties are the potato harvesting and the making ready of traps and other equipment for the coming trapping season.

Winter and Early Spring

Ecologically, winter begins when the small lakes and streams have frozen and enough snow has fallen to permit overland dogsled travel. For a few weeks before, there is a period when travel at any great distance is out of the question. Travel and thus trapping are usually possible by the first to the middle of November. The Mackenzie River may not become solidly frozen until into December. During the winter, trips to Simpson are made by dog-sled over the "portage trail," a direct route which runs overland and traverses several small lakes. It is a distance of about thirty-five miles, ten miles shorter than the Mackenzie River route. A man makes the trip perhaps once a month, usually in the company of several others, to sell some of his furs in order to purchase supplies for his family. As a rule the travellers stop several times to rest the dogs and "make tea," which usually means having a meal. Often they will camp out one night on the trail. Total travel time may vary from seven to fourteen hours. Occasionally, a sled from a settlement upstream on the Mackenzie will stop the night at Lynx Point before taking the portage trail to the fort.

Each man in the Lynx Point area has one or more trap-lines. The long lines are usually worked by two or three partners, while one running but a few miles may ordinarily be visited alone. Different lines may yield somewhat different catches—the Yukon brothers' line, extending into a set of hills, is good for marten. Another man's may yield a relatively high proportion of mink. The fur animals present in the region are marten, fisher, mink, otter, red fox (*Vulpes fulva*) which occurs in four colour forms, weasel (ermine), lynx, wolverine, skunk, squirrel, beaver, and muskrat (called "rats" locally). Wolf is present but of no commercial value; wolves are trapped or poisoned only when they are raiding the traps too frequently. Of these animals, marten, mink, fox, lynx, weasel, squirrel, beaver, and muskrat are the major catches; fisher and otter ordinarily command high prices but are almost non-existent in the region. Traps are placed along the line at a short distance from the trail. As part of his technical lore, the trapper must know the habits and be able to recognize the "sign" of various animals; he must know the different kinds of bait attractive to each species and the correct size of trap for each. Native deadfalls, as well as traps, may be set for mink, marten, and weasel. One informant had been "told about" a type of deadfall set for beaver "in the old days." These are no longer made.

Currently, limits are imposed by the game laws on marten (five to a trapper) and beaver (200 for the Lynx Point area). Also, open season for marten and beaver was, at the time of field work, limited to April and May.¹

Women and older children (from 9 or 10 years on) may set weasel and squirrel traps near the village. A boy may accompany adult males in the spring to shoot muskrats. The carcasses of the fur animals are brought home, where husband and wife skin them, stretch the pelts, and in the case of beaver, scrape them.

The tempo of visits to trap-lines is variable. One or two nights out may suffice for the shorter lines; men tending the longest lines may be gone well over a week. Usually, a bed of spruce boughs and a large fire suffice for nights on the trail. On longer lines, the partners may erect semi-permanent tepee-shaped shelters of split logs at one or two spots along the trail, or they may set up a tent for the winter out on the line, or, if enough sleds are going, they may carry a tent and even a stove for just the one trip.

One older Lynx Point man (Isadore Loche) and his young wife, who have no children, established a small winter camp in the bush at a lake some twenty miles from the village. Here they may remain for a couple of months at a time. This practice has several economic advantages—the trapping area is close by; the meat game, such as rabbits and moose, is more plentiful; and small inland "fish lakes" such as this are incomparably richer in fish than are the rivers. As regards food one can "live off the land" completely. The disadvantages lie primarily in the social isolation, the lack of comforts of house living, especially once one has children to tend, and the increased inaccessibility of store "grub."

¹ The laws were in process of revision during the summer of 1952.

Several items of aboriginal technology remain all-important in the pursuit of livelihood in the winter. Of these, the moccasin and the snowshoe have remained unchanged in use and design; each family manufactures its own. Actually, there are two types of snowshoe, the smaller snowshoe (*a'*), for travelling on packed snow, and the "big snowshoe" (*a' č oⁿ*) for breaking trail and for travel through deep snow, as in pursuit of moose through the bush. In shape, both types are the same—long in relation to width, with pointed, upturned tips. The mitt, another aboriginal item, is still typically home-manufactured from moosehide, though it could be replaced by commercial items (horsehide mittens are stocked by the traders). Two other items of aboriginal culture are vital to winter living, but they have undergone modification in use in response to the trapping economy. These are the toboggan and the domesticated dog. Actually, an amalgam has occurred, dog power having replaced human power in drawing the toboggan. The dog is also used for packing in the spring, but its important role is in toboggan traction. From four to seven dogs are commonly used in trace harness in drawing the toboggan or sled, or "sleigh" as it is called locally. Marcel, now 45 years old, recalls that when he was a youth, people were "poor" and could afford to maintain only two or three dogs. The toboggan, with canvas cariole, is now commonly purchased. At present, a "sleigh" costs about forty dollars. For travel over the wet snow of spring two strips of steel, about three inches wide, are attached lengthwise along the bottom of the toboggan.¹

Hunting in the winter is most commonly carried out in conjunction with trapping trips. The trapper is alert for signs of moose and other game. If necessary, he will tie his dogs on the trail and set out through the bush in pursuit of the noticed game food. Moose is the major and most highly valued food item. Stalking so as not to alert the animal is a skilled and often fatiguing process, and it is recognized that men may differ in their abilities as moose hunters. Caribou are encountered less often, but, since they travel in groups, several may be killed at one time. One variety is the barren-ground caribou, which, during their forest-ward winter movements, usually swing into the Horn Mountain region, touching the northeasternmost extension of the Lynx Point area. The two men whose trap-line runs into the Horn Mountain region survey the area from an eminence during their trap-line visits and, if they locate a herd, may make a considerable kill. Caribou of a different sort are found in the western section of the Lynx Point area, according to informants. Whether they are Woodlands or Mountain caribou, or both, I do not know. The hunting of caribou, like that of moose, is carried out by one or two individuals.

The only other large game taken in the winter is an occasional hibernating black bear, dragged from his hole and dispatched. Rabbits are the major small game. Several varieties of grouse, called "prairie chickens" or "chickens," are shot in some number, and ptarmigan are occasionally taken. Of the fur animals, lynx, beaver, and "rats" are commonly eaten,

¹ These are locally called "leeshes." I am indebted to Dr. Douglas Leechman for tracing the etymology of this word. It is from the French *lisser*, to smooth.

if freshly killed. Fish are taken in two fashions during the winter—by setting nets through holes in the ice and by placing hooks through ice holes. The latter technique is used for loche and for jackfish. Like the nets, the hooks are inspected every few days.

Because the amount of weight carried in the sled is a vital consideration and because the family at home must be left well supplied, men commonly do not carry with them on long trap-line trips sufficient food for themselves and their dogs. A man may carry no food but tea and bannock makings; he counts on his rifle, snares, and gill nets to feed himself and his dogs. Extra fish or meat accumulated during one trip may be cached for the next visit. Sometimes, if the trip is of some duration, the trapper may undergo considerable hardship. Marcel recounted such an incident:

Adapted from the field notes:

"Sometime, hell of a time. Damn near starve last winter" (of 1950-51). Marcel and his partner Karl, with Marcel's 17-year-old son, crossed the Mackenzie by canoe in the late autumn before the river froze solidly, threading their way among the ice-floes. This was their first trip of the season to their line running into the Horn Mountains. When they reached the "fish lake" toward the end of the line, they set gill nets and remained there for "three nights." (Units of time on the trail are reckoned in terms of nights rather than days.) They caught very few fish, however, barely enough for the dogs only. They hunted during this time but "no tracks at all." At one place they finally found fresh caribou signs and Marcel trailed and killed one by "workin' all night." They made camp in the mountains and attempted to shoot and snare sufficient rabbits there for the dogs, but there were no rabbits. There were lots of fresh marten tracks, but since there was nothing to feed the dogs with, they could not stay, and they made a hurried return trip to the Mackenzie. They feared that the river might have too much ice for crossing by canoe and yet not be so solidly frozen that they could cross by sled, thus leaving them stranded for an indeterminate period on the opposite side of the river from the village, where food awaited them. Fortunately, however, the river had frozen. "Pretty lucky. Come right across . . . Altogether eighteen days that trip."

The waning months of cold—March and April—are devoted to the procurement of beaver and muskrat, a major fur crop. Traps for other fur animals are taken up. Gaffing of beaver is illegal, and as the beaver houses destroyed in the process are easily visible to the game warden from the air, it is no longer practised. At the time of field work the shooting of beaver was also illegal. Shooting is much preferred by the Indians, since they must chop through as much as four feet of ice at each visit when using traps. However, shooting can occur only after the ice has broken and the beaver can emerge.

Visiting of traps set under the ice is carried on by dog-sled until the final period of fur procurement, the "spring hunt" on which the men of the village may be absent for two or three weeks. By this time, in April, the snow is rapidly melting. Partners start out with dog-sleds if snow conditions permit, or with pack dogs and back-pack. They carry a minimum of food, clothing, and blankets, as the conditions of travel are arduous. Hip boots are worn, as the hunters are travelling over flooded ground much of the time. They visit various lakes and streams, usually ones draining into Lynx Creek, and in the final stages they reach the shores of Lynx Creek, far upstream from the village. By this time this small river has broken, and most of the ice has moved out. Canoes are made—usually from canvas carried by each set of partners. If canvas is lacking, the partners construct a spruce-bark canoe. The dogs are turned loose to find their way home; if a man has a surplus of dogs, he will probably take this opportunity to shoot one or two. Pelts are loaded into the canoe, and the men return downstream to the village, picking up a few extra beaver along the way.

In April, the first ducks and geese of the season are sighted—an event which is quickly communicated to all the village. Bears emerge from hibernation. Some men speak of the pleasures of the bush at this time of year, of how "pretty" the birds sing and of the play of beaver kits. In their spare time, men have been whittling net floats and canoe paddles. Last-minute trips to Simpson before break-up must now be made on the Mackenzie ice, as the snow and the lake ice of the "portage trail" are gone. The ever-growing patches of water at the creek mouths that enter the Mackenzie foreshadow the great movement of the Mackenzie ice and, once again, the advent of summer.

THE SECURITY QUEST

Mode and Standard of Living

The foregoing description of the seasonal round presented general aspects of the economy and technology of the Lynx Point people. It is apparent that today a blend of a subsistence and a money economy exists. To bring out more clearly the nature of this blend and the security problems that it poses is the purpose of this section. Toward this end a brief survey is in order of those material items that are derived directly from the surrounding physical environment as against those that must be obtained through the medium of money and the market.

Dependence on "the bush."—The single area of need most nearly provided for from the natural environment is that of nutriment. If the flesh foods that are obtained by the hunting, fishing, and snaring activities were removed from the present diet, the remaining items of consumption would not suffice to maintain life. From impressionistic observations of eating habits, the conjecture can be advanced that at least one-half of the total food intake by volume is wild flesh or fish. The preponderance of the remaining intake is of

starches in the form of commercial flour, rolled oats, and homegrown potatoes. Potatoes are the only non-purchased vegetable food of any significance in the diet, but in volume of consumption they rank well below flour products. Commercial lard consumption accounts for a substantial portion of the intake of fats.

Items of material use are derived as secondary products from the game animals. Moose and caribou hides are one of the most important of the by-products, primarily for the manufacture of mitts and moccasins and for the babiche netting of snowshoes. Occasionally today, babiche is still used for lines, lashings, and snares. Sinew is employed in sewing hides. Bones of large animals have a minor use in the preparation of the hide-tanning solution and in manufacturing fleshers or scrapers. Rabbit skins are occasionally fashioned into children's vests and foot wrappings. Duck feathers may be saved to serve as filler for outdoor sleeping bags. As a substitute for babiche, the skin of the loche may be used in the manufacture of temporary snowshoes. Porcupine quills, aniline dyed, serve for moccasin decoration.

Fur animals, procured primarily for the market, provide some subsistence items as well. The flesh of the lynx, beaver, and muskrat is often eaten if the animal is freshly dead. Sometimes carcasses of fur-bearers may be fed to the dogs. Of very minor importance are the use of furs for trimming on parkas, mitts, and moccasins, and the employment of beaver and rat castors as bait for those and other fur animals.

Of the flora of the region, only the trees are of major importance in the subsistence economy. Other plants provide only such relative minor products as diaper padding (moss) and food "treats" (berries, wild onions, etc.). Certainly the most vital of all the uses to which the trees of the surrounding forest are put is that of fuel for warmth and cooking. With the exception of one or two gasoline camp stoves, used but rarely, the people are completely dependent upon the forests for fuel. Logs for the cabins and cache-houses are another major product of the forests; however, if need be, people are still able to live quite comfortably the year round in tents, now of canvas instead of the aboriginal moosehide. Twenty years ago, lumber for roofs, floors, plank scows, and such like, was whipsawed from logs by hand, but today it is purchased ready-made.

Other objects made from wood include snowshoe frames, axe handles, paddles, net floats, net-weaving needles, sawhorses, ladders, and fur-stretching boards. Poles are put to myriad uses, as frames for hide preparation, hoops for stretching beaver skins, cooking tripods over outdoor fires, tent poles and stakes, drying and cache racks, and in the construction of snares and deadfalls. Large logs are employed as rollers for beaching and launching the large boats, as are the two capstans, made of short logs of massive girth. Occasionally the men make spruce bark canoes to return from the spring hunt. The bark for the canoe is peeled in one large piece from the spruce tree and sewed up at each end with spruce roots. Pole slivers provide ribs and the front-to-back rims for the canoe. Moss and spruce gum are used to plug the branch holes in the bark.

Dependence on "the store."—We have seen that the bush provides fuel and a substantial portion of nutriment, but in other areas of consumption the trading post and the mail-order house today contribute much more heavily than does the natural environment. The Lynx Point people are thoroughly enmeshed in the market economy. They are never at a loss to know what to do with money, but their desires are often checked by a lack of sufficient income.

As the men do the family shopping, they are the most cognizant of prices and their fluctuations. They are avid bargain hunters in so far as the limited trading facilities allow. The fact that a particular brand of sunglasses was for sale at three different prices in the four trading establishments of the area was an item of comment, and each price could be quoted. Any drop or rise in the prices of commercial foods or other goods is one of the major items of news after a return from town. A new purchase by an individual will be discussed thoroughly: the price is quoted by the purchaser;¹ others often volunteer the amount paid for similar articles in their possession; prices of former years may be recalled, and so on.

Flour, lard, tea, and sugar are the basic food purchases; they provide the bannock and tea that, with meat and fish, are the staples of diet. Rolled oats or package macaroni-and-cheese dinners serve as occasional substitutes. Yeast is usually kept on hand, primarily for making home brew, but some women employ it in baking bread at fairly frequent intervals. Households with small children usually purchase powdered milk for the younger ones. Molasses and currants are bought in small steady quantities, for, along with sugar and yeast, they are the standard brew makings.

Consumption of other commercial foods, such as canned butter, meat, fruits and vegetables, is scant. For most families this is due to a disinclination to spend scarce money for what are considered luxury foods. And in the winter the problem of transporting any large amount of these foods from the fort is a subsidiary deterrent. It was mentioned before that in the spring there is a limited consumption of "fresh stuff" (fresh fruits, vegetables, eggs). A man usually brings a pound or two of candy for his children when returning from the trading post. There is a steady purchase of fine-cut tobacco for cigarettes and pipes. Two or three packs of "tailor makes" are often purchased as a treat from town. Only the men smoke regularly.

All households possess axes and hatchets, files, knives, and saws. For the pursuits of livelihood, each man has a set of traps, a rifle or preferably two (.22 and .30-.30) and perhaps a shotgun, and a "sleigh" (toboggan) and dog harness. Today toboggans are purchased, though knowledge of their manufacture (such as the steaming and bending process) still exists among the older men and would probably be reverted to in a time of extreme penury. Other necessary expenditures are for ammunition and for twine for fish nets. To save money, nets are usually hand-woven rather than purchased ready-made.

¹ A characteristic example occurs in a letter from one of the men received by me after leaving the field: "Frankie (his ten-year-old son) caught some squirrels and weasels this winter with his fur I bought him a snow sleight [*sic*] price \$10.95."

Most adult men own a commercial canvas canoe or perhaps a plank skiff (usually homemade from purchased lumber). The latter can be propelled only by an outboard motor; the larger canoe with a flat stern is also designed for use with a "kicker." At present, however, only four outboard motors are owned at Lynx Point. Most men have owned several in the past, but the outboard motors usually have a life of only a few years. Upon the demise of one "kicker," it may be several years, dependent upon fur prices and other needs, before an individual can afford the \$250 to \$400 investment for a new one. Gas and oil for the "kicker" are further items of expenditure, and occasionally spare parts must be ordered from "outside." A few mattocks, shovels, and hoes for gardening are individually owned in the community.

In the construction of the house itself, purchased items include nails, milled lumber for roofs and floors, window sashes and glass, doors, tar paper roofing, and rolls of heavy paper for indoor wind-proofing. Every house has one or more cast-iron stoves for heating and cooking, one or two gas lanterns, a chair or two, one or more tables and cupboards (often homemade from purchased planks), beds of wood slats, with perhaps one iron bedstead and springs, perhaps a mattress, one or more small trunks for clothing and storage, blankets and comforters, and curtains made from yard goods. All cooking, eating, and drinking utensils are purchased. Galvanized pails and forty-five-gallon oil drums serve for water portage and storage. Women have ember-heated flat irons or, in one case, a gas-run iron, scrub boards and tubs, and several own small hand-cranked sewing machines. For summer, every family owns a canvas tent and mosquito bars (curtains of cheesecloth, sewn into an open-bottomed box form, under which one sleeps).

Except for moccasins and mitts, all clothing is purchased ready-made or sewn from yard goods. For home sewing, cloth, thread, needles, rickrack, and embroidery silk are purchased. For wet weather, everyone must have rubbers or rubber boots to protect his moccasins, and in the spring the men require "waders" (hip boots) of canvas, rubber, or, a recently discovered substitute, plastic. Most men have owned one or more "good" wristwatches (\$30 to \$60) and wear rings (usually costing from \$10 to \$30). Various small items of adornment are purchased—cosmetics, barrettes, and ribbons for girls; for boys and men, barrettes and brooches for their caps, silk scarves, studded belts, and the like. Observations indicated that in most households more money is spent on the man's clothes than on the wife's or child's. A man's rigorous outdoor life, of course, demands a greater supply of clothing, but the men are the "snappy dressers" of the society, and they buy clothing for dash, style, and novelty, as well as for utility.

A number of expenditures contribute primarily to enjoyment and recreation. Into this category fall such purchases as guitars, violins, concertinas and harmonicas, phonographs and records, inexpensive cameras, and radios, the latter requiring further expenditures on batteries, tubes, and

licences. Young men and boys buy boxing gloves, soccer balls, "flexible flyer" sleds, ice skates, and "cowboy" cap pistol sets. In town, the Saturday night movie is a minor recreation expense. Once or twice a year, the men usually have opportunities to indulge in bootlegged liquor or beer sprees (perhaps spending \$50 or more) or in high-stake poker games, in which upwards of \$75 may change hands. One other expenditure that should be classed as primarily recreational is for brew makings, usually molasses, sugar, currants, and yeast. One to three pots a month are made in each household.

Economic Problems

The Lynx Point people are eager to maintain their present standard of living and, if possible, to better it. But their present mode of economic life is such that they can see few guarantees of stability at the present level or of advancement in the future. The several factors that make for this insecurity are of two sorts—those stemming from the ecology of the natural environment and those springing from the money and market economy of the greater world. These security problems find frequent voice among the members of the community, and their responses range from impotent railing at the game laws and "the government" to attempts at long-term planning that have led to the joint purchase and operation of a power-boat and barge.

Food ecology.—We have seen that the Lynx Point community relies heavily on the game of the bush for sustenance. A decrease in supply, therefore, means that there must accordingly be an increased expenditure of ever-scarce money for store foods if consumption standards are to be maintained, thereby allowing less money to fulfil other wants. Also, the isolation of the community prevents a quick and easy supplementing of the larder from the store, even if money is at hand. In point of fact, a shortage of meat usually means a decrease in food consumption, although the intake of bannock may be stepped up in partial compensation (in volume, at least, if not in terms of nutrition). Besides these objective considerations, the likes and dislikes of the people lead them to reject most canned foods in favour of wild flesh. Although considered tasty by most, canned fruits and vegetables in their eyes are not real food. They do not fill one as meat and bannock do, and canned meat "tastes terrible." Certainly no one who has attempted to live solely on canned meats for several months will argue this point with the Indian.

What are the present-day ecological conditions affecting the food supply? Fish and rabbits are normally the backbone of the meat diet—they assure a daily supply of flesh food. But the rabbits are subject to a rising and falling in population. In some years they may be almost unobtainable. There appears to be a major population cycle of 10 years from peak to peak.¹ During 1952 a marked fluctuation occurred—on my re-arrival in the field in March, I was repeatedly informed that rabbits were very abundant, yet by our departure in August, the Indians were commenting on their scarcity.

¹ H. J. and J. L. Robinson, "Fur Production in the Northwest," *The New Northwest*, ed. C. A. Dawson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), pp. 133-53.

Letters informed me that they were scarce all the following winter; the summer of 1955 was another period of scarcity. The only conjecture obtained regarding this marked decrease was that the rabbits had "moved" to an area many miles downstream, where they were reported to be plentiful.

Fish are subject to seasonal and yearly fluctuation, and we have at least one report of their actual failure.¹ Spring, with its bluefish and sucker runs, is the most abundant season for taking fish from the river. Winter is the least fruitful season. It must here be noted that in establishing a permanent village on the main transportation route—the Mackenzie—the people of Lynx Point, like most of the present-day bush bands, have relinquished the benefits of living at an inland lake, for these lakes are much richer in fish than are the rivers. Informants' knowledge of the "old days" suggests that the aboriginal pattern was to winter at a "fish lake," thus assuring a food supply. At the "fish lakes" there is almost always enough fish for human beings and their dogs. It is to supplement the insufficient supply of river fish that the Lynx Point men go to the "fall fishery" on Great Slave Lake, but even there, the yield is in some years insufficient for the winter's needs.

Other small game, including those trapped fur-bearers considered edible, are obtained only sporadically or seasonally and can not be counted as an important article of diet.

Of the three kinds of big game, two are available only in certain seasons. Bear is rarely taken during the winter months of hibernation. The woodland caribou may be encountered in the winter when the men's trap-lines take them into the area frequented by these animals, but the riverine hunting required in summer months does not bring the hunter into contact with the caribou. The barren-ground caribou are likewise available only in the winter when their migration brings them into the Horn Mountains at the eastern edges of the forest belt. The pair of partners whose trap-line runs out to the Horn Mountain region watch for this advent. Some years—and 1952 was such a year—the barren-ground caribou do not come at all. Thus the meat supply from this source is very capricious. In other years the discovery of a large herd may provide twenty or thirty animals, enough meat for rich eating for the whole community for a month or more.

The moose is the major big game animal of the region. Of all the flesh foods, it is the most highly valued. When an Indian speaks of being "hungry for meat," he is thinking of moose. The delight and excitement, manifested in random running and crying of the news, with which the women and children greet the advent of fresh moosemeat, reflect the value placed upon it. Its indispensable hide contributes to its value as well. The years of 1951 and 1952 were not considered to have been adequate in moose. The accompanying schedule (Table 1) gives the number of moose, along with

¹ "The Slaveys, who formerly killed large numbers of caribou between the Mackenzie and Rae are now compelled to live principally upon fish, and when these fish fail, as they did during the winter [1893] that I spent in the country, they are reduced to actual starvation. The score or two of Slaveys whom I saw at Providence were dirty, thievish, and poverty-stricken." Frank Russell, *Explorations in the Far North* (University of Iowa, 1898), p. 162.

caribou and bear, taken over a nine-month period. Summer tends to be a poor time for moose, as they can be hunted only along the Mackenzie and tributary streams.

TABLE 1

BIG GAME TAKEN IN A NINE-MONTH PERIOD.
COMMUNAL DISTRIBUTION EXCEPT WHERE INDICATED

Date	No.	Details
November, 1951.....	2 moose	Killed at a single family camp in the bush; probably not full distribution of the meat.
December.....	1 moose	The shortage of moose was such that there was "no meat" for the New Year's feast.
	2 bears	
January, 1952.....	2 moose	—
February.....	9 moose	Two of these moose were consumed by only one family, camped in the bush; not shared by the community as a whole.
	5 woodland caribou	
March.....	5 moose	One moose was consumed by one family only, camped in bush.
April.....	3 moose	All killed at a bush camp; only a very small proportion of the meat was brought to the village.
May.....	2 moose	—
	1 bear	Killed at a bush camp; not distributed.
June.....	1 bear	
	1 moose	—
July.....	2 bears	—

Marcel, recalling earlier years, stated that moose are markedly fewer in the area than they were about twenty years ago. At that time, one would hear men firing at moose "two or three times a day." They were so plentiful that the dogs were fed on their flesh, a thing never done today. The nadir in the supply of moose was reached about five years ago; the present-day take is considered a substantial improvement.¹ There are probably a number of ecological factors within the bush, the wolf-moose relation for example, that may have played a part in the decline of the moose population. Two related elements in the human ecology, however, may also have contributed to the situation. First, the community has been established for

¹ During my 1954 visit, I was told two or three times, with evident pleasure, that over thirty moose had been killed by the community in the previous winter. This number appeared to be considered an adequate supply of meat.

over forty years—it seems likely that over this period the moose of the surrounding area are being progressively hunted out. Aggravating this, the population has quadrupled from the time of establishment of the permanent village. Over the years, more and more moose must be slain if a given standard of consumption per individual is to be maintained. It appears to be a vicious circle. The game laws, limiting the take in the region to one moose to one licensed hunter each year,¹ are, of course, an attempt on the part of the government to regulate the consumption of moose in accord with the moose population. This law has no effect upon the human population, however, except occasionally during the summer when a visit from the game warden is likely. There was no evidence that the Indians ever spare a moose (as, for example, a pregnant female) when it can be taken safely.² The quota on moose is bitterly resented and conceived as another cruel blight visited by the government upon the helpless Indian. In justice, however, it must be recognized that strict observance of this regulation would work a severe hardship upon the Indian.

In some men, pride and enjoyment in hunting and appreciation of wild meat are doubtlessly so strong that they would, by preference, always take much of their sustenance from the bush. Other men appear to find little interest and challenge in bush life and, given an ample supply of money, would probably cease most of their hunting activities. They, along with some of the women and especially the children, would welcome an increased variety and consumption of store-bought food, if it could be attained without sacrificing their desires for other types of commercial products.

In sum, we may say that the Lynx Point people do not always obtain as much food from the environment as they need or desire and, also, that they have no assurance that their needs will in the future be filled. The food supply for next month and next year is always unpredictable.

The supply and conservation of fur-bearers.—Over the past years, the most important fur-bearers in the Lynx Point area, on the basis of market value and abundance, have been beaver, mink, marten, lynx, and red and cross fox (the latter are two colour forms of *Vulpes fulva*; the black and silver forms are rare in the area). The Robinsons' rating of the Greater Simpson region (including the posts of Liard and Wrigley) against seven other major fur areas of the Mackenzie district "readily shows the significance of Simpson as a fine fur area, since this section . . . ranks first in the production of beaver, marten, and lynx, the more valuable furs."³

¹ At the time of the field work.

² Unfortunately, I neglected to probe regarding the possibility that in times of abundance some moose might be spared. The statement about sustaining the dogs on moose meat in former days suggests, however, that conservation was not formerly practised; nor is there any evidence of conservation given by earlier observers.

³ M. J. and J. L. Robinson, "Fur Production on the North-West," op. cit., p. 151. The inclusion of lynx among the commercially valuable furs no longer held in 1952. The complete ranking of production for the Greater Simpson is given by the Robinsons as follows: Beaver 1 (i.e., first in production), marten 1, lynx 1, mink 5, muskrat 7, red fox 6, cross fox 5, ermine 7.

Several of the fur-bearers of the Mackenzie region are subject to cyclical fluctuations in population. Beaver is apparently an exception; marten has been too much reduced through overtrapping to permit analysis of possible population cycles. Lynx evidently has a "ten year cycle of abundance which is correlated with the cyclic abundance of rabbits."¹ Mink appears to have a seven- to nine-year cycle. Fox apparently has a ten-year cycle. The regional totals for ermine "fluctuate with slight peaks occurring every two or three years."² It is likely that at least some types of fur-bearers are affected by certain climatic variations as well. No cycle for muskrat is given by the Robinsons. The 1952 spring muskrat catch at Lynx Point was very low and had been predicted by the Indians, for they had seen few muskrats the previous summer. Marcel attributed the muskrat decline to high water during freeze-up the previous autumn, caused by the ice forming so high on the river-banks that the muskrats, trapped under the ice, perished in their holes.

These population cycles, of course, in themselves may affect the earnings of the trappers. The current fur price trends, however, must always be considered in conjunction with amount of fur production. The very high prices during the war years coincided with what was apparently a peak (culminating in 1944-45) in the lynx population.³ This was an important factor in the high income of the Indian in these years. Lynx were plentiful in the 1951-52 season (probably again approaching the peak in the cycle), but prices were so low (*see* Table 2 for comparisons) that the Indians did not consider it worth while to take advantage of the situation; they set few traps for lynx. In several instances of this sort, the market has altered the tempo of the fur catch in the Mackenzie region, either accelerating or decelerating it in accord with good or poor fur prices.⁴ In other words the amount of a particular fur taken in any year is not necessarily in direct ratio to the abundance of that fur.

An additional factor affecting the catch of beaver and marten has been the imposition of quotas on these furs by game authorities to combat the decline in population through overtrapping. Fur quotas on beaver were first instituted in the Mackenzie region in 1928⁵ and on marten in 1936. Toward the end of World War II, beaver and marten were closed for several years in some of the region, including the Lynx Point area. A steep drop in income hit Lynx Point in consequence of this, for the inhabitants had been profiting greatly from the high fur prices of wartime. At present, in 1952, the Lynx Point community was allotted a beaver catch of 200 per year, predicated on the number of beaver lodges in the area. Marten is now limited seasonally to five or ten per trapper, depending on the location

¹ Ibid., p. 149.

² Ibid., p. 140.

³ Ibid., p. 149.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 135, 137.

⁵ Ibid., p. 143.

of his lines. Seals for the allotted beaver and marten are distributed by the game wardens, and one must be affixed to each pelt before it can be accepted by a trader.

The limitations imposed on these two furs are evaded to some extent by the practice of "buying seals." A trapper who has beaver or marten in excess agrees to give a "cut" of the fur sale to a less successful trapper, who sells the fur using his extra seals.

The usual "cut" ratio for beaver is at present about one-fifth of the sale. As it was explained, if the pelt sells for \$15, the owner of the seal receives \$3; if the pelt sells for \$25, the seal owner's "cut" is \$5.¹

As with restrictions on food animals, the efforts of the conservation authorities are little appreciated.

We see, then, that there is unpredictability and instability in the supply of fur bearers. The major source of insecurity for the Lynx Point trapper, however, springs not from the realm of supply but from the operation of the fur market.

Sources of income.—For the Lynx Point people, as for practically all Indians in Canada's northland, the trapping and selling of furs is the major source of income. Except for Hay River on the south shore of Great Slave Lake, where there is a current building and business boom, and the Great Bear River and Lake region, with the oil industry at Norman Wells and the pitchblende mining and boat freighting on Great Bear Lake, the fur trade remains today the only important commercial activity along the length of the Mackenzie. Omitting consideration, for the moment, of the Indian's adaptability to types of work other than hunting and trapping, the fact remains that there are exceedingly few other means of making a living available in this region.

Before examining the fur industry, however, let us consider the few other sources of income for the Indians.

For many Indian households the "family allowance" provides an income second in amount only to the fur trade.² Since 1944 the Canadian Government has paid a monthly bonus for every Canadian child, at the rate (at the time of the field work) of \$5 a month for children under six, \$6 for children from six to nine years, \$7 from ten to twelve, and \$8 from thirteen through fifteen years. Thus a family with four children, one in each age group, would receive a yearly income of \$312 from the government. The bonus is paid by cheque,³ and the traders who cash the cheques and sell the goods must see that only food and other items of direct benefit to children are purchased with the money. Coffee or cigarettes, for example, may not be bought with

¹ Even more elaborate connivance was practised when beaver was closed in certain areas. Certain Whites who had trapping and trading licences in "open" areas but who did not work their lines would accept beaver taken by Indians in closed areas as their own, tag and sell them, and split the price brought by each pelt "fifty-fifty" with the Indian trapper. Owing to the high prices brought by furs at that period, this arrangement, when it could be made, was still quite profitable for the Indian. For example, one Indian received \$400 as his half share on six beaver pelts.

² In rock bottom fur-price years (such as 1953), it may indeed often exceed income from furs.

³ Eskimos and a few Indians (the Slaves not included) are not given cheques directly but allotments of appropriate food and goods for their children.

family allowance money. The family allowance is the only dependable and predictable income for most Slave families, with the exception of the yearly \$5 "Treaty money" which most Indians consider not worth bothering about. An old age pension (inaugurated in 1950) of \$40 per month for individuals over seventy aids a few families, although there is frequently the problem of establishing the age of the elderly person.¹

There are perhaps six or eight permanent year-round jobs held by male Indians in Fort Simpson—a clerk in each of the three trading posts and a few handyman jobs with the government agricultural agents and the doctor and hospital.² There is some female employment, full or part-time, in housework or at the Roman Catholic Mission Hospital (the latter paying \$1 a day and meals).

During the summer, a few seasonal jobs or other money-making possibilities are open. In Simpson, there are mainly a few wage labour jobs, such as gardening for the Agricultural Agent, or some carpentering or repair work for local Whites. When a river boat arrives, a few hours' wages can be made at unloading. Occasionally, an Indian has the opportunity to rent his canoe and "kicker," plus himself as operator, to government officials or other individuals who need water transportation.

In response to these opportunities to earn some cash during the summer, some Indian trappers whose permanent homes are in the "bush" move their tents and families to Simpson and take employment. Several of the Lynx Point men have done this. Top wages in Simpson at present (1952) are those paid by the government offices. The minimum wage for government employment is \$1 per hour (up to \$8.50 per day). But family living in Simpson is expensive, and most of the cash must be spent immediately. Zachary Ingram of Lynx Point, with his wife and four children, attempted during the summer of 1952 to save (for his autumn stake) \$4 out of his \$8 a day. This was considered a stringent regimen by other Lynx Point men and accounted, one of them speculated, for Zachary's apparent loss of weight. Food prices are high, 50 to 85 cents for one tin of meat, for example. Most expenditure is for food for the human beings and for their dogs. The area around Simpson is very poor in fish and rabbit, and only if a man has a "kicker" for his canoe can he set snares and nets outside the depleted Simpson environs. And then there is the cost of gasoline, plus the fact that a man putting in a full work day seldom has the time or energy to make a two- or three-hour trip nightly to snares and nets. Furthermore, the presence of the game warden prevents supplementing the larder with illicit bear and moose meat, or with such smaller items of game as ducks and porcupines.

¹ The old age pension has since been increased to \$55. At Lynx Point, two old people, Old Denise Mink and Old Yukon, benefited from the pension for a few months before their deaths. In 1953 there was no one at Lynx Point receiving this pension, although Old David, whose birth date is in doubt, would probably be eligible in another three or four years. The earliest record of his existence is his baptismal registration, but he was already several years old when he was baptized.

² Until the local sawmill closed in 1951, there were a few seasonal, part-time or full-time jobs with it. During the building of the airfield by the United States Army during World War II, there were quite a few employment opportunities.

A few Indians may make a little money cutting logs for firewood and towing them behind a canoe to town, where today (1951) they receive about ten dollars a cord.¹ The family or families involved in such projects move their tents and possessions to the wood-cutting sites. Members of the Lynx Point band cut and sold some eighty cords of wood in August of 1951, using their horse, power-boat, and barge in a joint operation. However, burned-over areas near the river-bank, which are the only practicable sources of already-dried (seasoned) wood, have been almost used up for over fifty miles out of Simpson, so that this money activity is becoming, in the opinion of the Lynx Point Indians, too difficult to be worth while.

The Lynx Point situation is unique in that in recent years most of the community has been able to obtain some additional income from the joint enterprises that employ the cooperatively owned barge and power-boat. Four different kinds of activities of this sort have been undertaken—cutting and hauling firewood for sale in Fort Simpson, renting the boat and barge, plus the labour of two to four Lynx Point men on hauling jobs for Whites; setting channel buoys in the spring under government contract and beaching them in the autumn, for which they receive *per diem* payment for the use of the power-boat and for the labour of the three-man (Lynx Point) crew; and, lastly, autumn fishing in Great Slave Lake, part of the catch ordinarily being sold. Income from the barge and power-boat has fallen short of the original hopes and expectations, but even the poorest seasons have, so far as could be determined, produced sufficient cash to pay for supplies and upkeep on the equipment. In those instances such as the buoy-setting job, where crewmen receive individual pay in addition to a direct payment for the use of the vessel, the emolument of the crewmen is not pooled but is directly pocketed by the individuals.

Let us return now to the core of the money economy of Lynx Point—the fur trade. Most of the Lynx Point fur catch is sold either to the Hudson's Bay Company or to the two free traders in Fort Simpson. Each man during the winter goes to the fort about once a month, taking most, if not all, of the furs he has caught in the interim. Part of the proceeds from the sale of these furs is used immediately to purchase flour and other staples and perhaps some other needed or desired items as well. There are a few other outlets for furs, however, besides Fort Simpson. A White trader some thirty miles upstream from Lynx Point draws some of their business. In the spring of 1952, most of their beaver catch was sold at Hay River. Furthermore, fur trading firms "outside," at Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver, occasionally send circulars to the trappers, advertising their prices for the better-paying fine furs such as marten, mink, and beaver. Some of the trappers have sent out two or three of their best pelts per year to these "outside companies" and, in these instances, have generally received higher prices than those current locally. The need for immediate cash for provisions, however, is a major deterrent to this practice.

¹ Prices have since gone up.

In Fort Simpson, the Lynx Point men usually "shop" for the best price for their more valuable furs; a one to five dollar difference may sometimes obtain. Furthermore, they are alert to rumors or information from travellers regarding the prices being paid by the upstream trader and the three Hay River "free traders." (The Hudson's Bay post at Hay River is correctly assumed to be paying the same as the post at Simpson.) In response to such reports, most of the Lynx Point men took part of their 1952 spring beaver catch to the upstream trader and did indeed receive somewhat higher payments for their furs than the going rates in Simpson. During their buoy-setting trip to Hay River the previous spring, they had established that beaver was getting higher prices there than in the Simpson area. It was with this knowledge that most of the men held all their beaver that did not have to be used to purchase immediate necessities (food, primarily), until they could send it to Hay River with the men making the buoy-setting trip. The prices offered by each Hay River trader were investigated, and the furs were sold to the one offering the most money. Unfortunately, in that year there was but a slight gain over Simpson prices.

In Fort Simpson, the Lynx Point men are known as "Hudson Bay Indians," meaning that they sell to and trade with the Bay. As the above accounts show, however, the Lynx Point men are usually ready to take advantage of higher prices offered elsewhere for fine furs. The men do the family purchasing, and for such consumer items as clothing and equipment, comparative shopping is common. Often, indeed, the decision is that one of the mail-order houses offers the best bargain and is accordingly patronized. However, the men usually make their headquarters when in town on a fur-selling trip at the Bay's "Indian house" (a lodging provided by the Company) rather than at that of a rival trader. And, if for various reasons, it is not thought worth while to shop for fur prices, it is to the Bay that they sell. Most of the immediate staples they require are purchased from the Bay. (Food prices appeared to be uniform among the three trading posts.) Also, it is with the Bay that most of the men contract "debt," the autumn grub-stake of food and equipment advanced in the autumn to tide the trapper over from the impoverished summer season until he can start producing furs. The amount of debt allowed to a trapper by the trader is predicated, in part, on the man's reliability and estimated producing power, but it is primarily decided *pro rata* on the basis of the estimated market value of the various furs in the coming season.

The most disturbing factor in the Indian's economic life is the fluctuating prices of the fur market. This phenomenon is, of course, completely beyond the control of the Indians. The causes are little comprehended by them, although they are cognizant of the role that the domestic fur supply from mink and fox fur farms may play in price determination, and some Indians give voice to suspicions about the integrity of the fur traders. Thus Zachary surmised, apparently with some seriousness, that the Hudson's Bay factor was paying low fur prices, because he needed greater profits to support

his children than did the previous factor, a bachelor.¹ On the whole, however, the price fluctuation problem is accepted as inevitable and inexplicable, with no personal imputations being advanced.

TABLE 2
GENERALIZED SCHEDULE OF FUR PRICE FLUCTUATIONS
(THREE SEASONS COMPARED)

Major Furs (Presented in approximate order of their present-day importance in the Lynx Point economy)	Approximate Prices		
	1951-52	1950-51	Spring 1944 (From Honigmann)
Beaver (Best quality and size; i.e. top price).....	\$18	\$30-\$35	\$47-\$51
Marten (Top price).....	Autumn: \$35 Spring: \$8-\$10	\$48	\$86-\$100
Mink (Top price).....	\$35 (Average: \$24)	\$50	Not given
Lynx (Top price).....	Autumn: \$6 Spring: \$4 (Average: \$2)	\$20	\$62-\$74 (Average: \$56-\$63)
Red fox and cross fox.....	\$2-\$4 (usual range)	Somewhat lower than 1951-52	\$10-\$11, ordinaries \$14-\$16
Muskrat.....	\$2 (Small catch at Lynx Point)	\$2 (Large catch at Lynx Point)	Not given
Weasel.....	\$3	Not known	Not given
Squirrel.....	\$0.75	\$0.60	Not given

There was a pronounced boom in furs during World War II, with a ragged decline in values since that time. The accompanying chart (Table 2) presents, in abbreviated form, the prices of the major furs of the Simpson area for the 1951-52 and the 1950-51 seasons, compared with the prices recorded by Honigmann,² at lower post for the spring of 1944. (At any given time, prices are much the same from post to post, as long as there is competitive trading within each post.) The heavy decline in all furs between 1944 and 1950 is there illustrated, and it can also be seen that beaver, marten, and lynx took several drops between 1950-51 and 1951-52. The severe decline in the value of lynx (from \$20 to \$4, top price) is a heavy

¹ In point of fact, the Bay did appear most often to offer a slightly lower price for furs, as compared with the other two companies.

² Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society*, p. 81.

blow, for it is an abundant fur in the Lynx Point area. Even further cuts appeared to be in the offing for the 1952-53 season; top price for marten, for example, was predicted at \$8¹ (compared with \$48 of two seasons before).

For the 1951-52 season, the range of from \$700 to \$1,200 probably covers the income from furs of each Lynx Point household. Incomes approaching the higher end of the range appeared to have been achieved in large part by the taking of beaver and especially marten in excess of the legal allotment. If extra seals were not available, only the best pelts were selected for sale. Table 3 presents an estimated average take and income from furs for 1951-52.

Summary

The living standard of the Lynx Point Indians is heavily dependent upon a capricious and fluctuating fur market. Outside of trapping, the financial opportunities to be found in the White settlements are few, and far from golden. Most Indians must trap for a living, whether they like it or not. And in their trapping, the population cycles of the fur-bearers and the limits on the catch that the authorities impose in consequence of population decline of fur-bearers provide another element of insecurity.

TABLE 3

ESTIMATE OF AN AVERAGE CATCH AND INCOME FROM FURS 1951-52 SEASON

Number and Kind	Income	Total
19 beaver.....	ea. \$15	\$135
5 marten.....	15	75
20 mink.....	25	500
20 lynx.....	3	60
20 weasel (taken by wife and children).....	3	60
20 fox, cross and red.....	3	60
15 rats.....	2	30
20 squirrels (taken by wife and children).....	0.75	15
TOTAL.....		\$935

* That income can sink much lower is evidenced in a personal communication from the Hudson's Bay Company factor at Providence, who estimates that the average fur income per Slavey trapper in that area for the 1953-54 season was \$120.

¹Personal communication, in late summer, 1952, from the Hudson's Bay Company manager at Fort Simpson.

We have seen that the Lynx Point people are a receptive market for commercial products of many kinds. They desire more and better clothing and household equipment, new radios, outboard motors, rifles, tents, boats, watches, jewellery, and a myriad of other tempting items that blossom in the mail-order catalogue. They seek more ease and comfort (a better sleeping bag for sub-zero nights on the trail, a "kicker" to replace muscle power), and more attractiveness and variety (a new dress or shirt for the tea dance) in their lives. But there have been few years when it has been financially easy to fill these needs and desires. Most of the time, the Lynx Point people are, in Marcel's phrase, "just gettin' by."

It is partly the desire to have money to spend on manufactured items that maintains their dependency on the natural environment for food. But indeed, in poor fur price years, such as 1951-52, their entire income from furs would be inadequate for the purchase of sufficient and nutritionally adequate commercial food for a family.¹ This environmental dependence, in its turn, imposes periods of food inadequacy and anxiety that could be ameliorated or overcome were the money supply more adequate and dependable.

The desire for an easier, more abundant and secure life finds verbal expression often in the form of anxiety and resentment.

Adapted from the field notes:

May 17, 1952. Henri has just heard from a passing Indian that "blanket (large size) beaver" is selling for only \$16 at Simpson. Henri comments that prices paid for fur are pretty low, while food stays high and gets higher.

March 10, 1952. (While drinking) Karl is looking at a magazine containing pictures of the royal funeral . . . Daniel starts to talk about how much money was spent on the funeral, and this reminds him, as it usually does, of how low fur prices have become and how high the price of store goods is. (Later) . . . as we talk about how hard up things are here—a topic raised by Daniel—he says that the last time the men were in Simpson, Marcel and Henri were talking about how something would have to be done—a revolution. "Know who to shoot, anyway," says Daniel. "Who?"—"The game warden." Daniel tells how all the lynx were stacked up on the floor of the Bay store and the big stack did not come to \$100. The stuff on the shelves was "up," and Marcel complained to factor about the prices.

February 26, 1952. Marcel ("high" but not drunk) starts to talk about how the Indian has to support the game warden to make

¹ This statement is based on the experience of the ethnologists. Even after revulsion with canned meats and most other tinned foods had reduced us to a minimal store-food diet (oriented primarily around bannock, tea, and powdered milk), augmented by occasional gifts of fresh meat, a minimum estimate of our food expenditures would be \$20 each per month. Our caloric needs were small, compared to the men's and those of the women and children of the community. (Nutritional needs were ignored, except for an occasional vitamin pill.) A family of four at \$20 each per month would require almost a thousand dollars a year for food alone; compare this with the estimated fur incomes for 1951-52.

trouble for him, pay taxes to support him just like your family. He goes on to talk of how bad the plight of the Indian is—how he has only one way of making a living whereas the White man has many and should show them to the Indian. He repeats several times that the Indian is human, just like the White man, and should be entitled to earn his living just like the White man.

May 8, 1952. Zachary, somewhat "high," discusses the poor fish catch last autumn by the Lynx Point fishery outfit . . . Goes on that "this bunch" is the only one with an outfit with which to go and fish the lake on a large scale. "The people at Fort Simpson (where the surplus is sold) need that fish." If it is not a good year for rabbits, that is all they have that is cheap to buy. They can buy a stick of ten big white-fish for \$1.75. I (J. H.) comment that that is a lot better than paying fifty cents for a can of meat. "Fifty cents?" says Zachary, outraged at my ignorance, "eighty-five cents!" and then says canned meats are all salt.

(Later) Zachary says that the government should give food to the Indian if it restricts hunting. "A man loves his family; he can't just sit around, not do anything." Zachary got five beaver in traps this spring. "That's not enough." That is why he shoots beaver (illegal).

Zachary complains that "the old people" think you can live without money. They think you can get along like in the old days. They don't realize everything costs money—clothes, shells, canoes, etc. He enumerates everything one needs that costs money. Zachary says there is no future in trapping, got to think of the children's future. Trapping is going to get worse. The government should do something . . . "We've got to have equipment. A man can't do anything with a shovel in his hand" (in response to a reference to farming possibilities).

CHAPTER III

THE WORLD OF LYNX POINT

THE COMMUNITY

The isolation of the settlement clearly marks off the Lynx Point community demographically. It lies about twenty miles away from the next nearest settlement. It is about thirty-five miles from Fort Simpson by the winter portage trail and forty-five miles by the summer Mackenzie River route.

The houses of the community, separated by but a few yards, occupy a clearing facing the Mackenzie River, which is ringed by bush on the other three sides. Through the years, as the village has grown, the bush has been cut back from the original clearing, which at first could accommodate but one house. Today there are eleven occupied cabins. Two of these are actually one double house and joint household (that of Karl and Ozzie Mink), and one small cabin, which, although occupied part of the time by Old David Mink, may be considered but an adjunct of his larger house, now occupied by a daughter and her family. It was this small cabin that was given for the ethnologists' use.

The houses are linked by paths beaten in the snow in winter and through the grass in summer. In their drawings of the village the children spontaneously and accurately chart these routes. Paths also lead down to the beach and into the bush where they become trails. Some hundred-odd yards downstream from the village clearing, Lynx Creek enters the Mackenzie River. Lynx Island lies in the mouth of the small river. Opposite the island on the bank of the channel separating the island from the mainland are located the capstans and the log rollers used in beaching the power-boat for the winter season. On the upstream side of the community clearing a trail leads into the bush. It first passes the log-made horse barn and continues for a few hundred yards to the community's burying ground, which follows the northern mission pattern of crosses and grave fencings.

Since the field period, a government school-house has been built at Lynx Point. There are six cleared or partially cleared garden plots. During the field period only one garden was planted in scale, "Henri's garden," actually a communal plot. Marcel also cultivated his small private garden on the island, and the Yukons had established a small garden for the season about a mile downstream. A projected large communal garden, only partially cleared, is situated on the bank of Lynx Creek. The map in Figure 2 indicates other appurtenances of the community, such as warehouses, latrines, and doghouses.

The History of the Community

The history of the Lynx Point community, besides accounting for the present-day composition of the village, exemplifies many of the patterns of movement and of social relations among the Slave Indians of the past fifty years.

Old Mink was the founder of the present village. For many years he was a "pilot" or steersman for the Hudson's Bay Company, working on the York boats that carried furs out and supplies in along the thousand-mile route between Aklavik on the Arctic delta and MacMurray, Alberta, that serviced all the Mackenzie and Liard River drainage. A pilot, responsible for directing the course of the York boats and the trackers that towed them, occupied a position of some prestige along the river. Old Mink's first wife and their small son, now Old David, spent their summers with a band at a "fish lake" in the bush while Old Mink worked on the river.

From the field notes, Old David, through his son-in-law as interpreter:

"In the fall, when the ground started to freeze, the band would all come into Simpson. Old David was just a little kid then. His grandfather [probably maternal] had to pack him over the bad trails. There were lots of skiffs coming. There was a skiff for each fort, one for Nelson, one for [Fort] Liard, like that [i.e., each skiff carried the winter's trading supplies for one post]. Old David remembers seeing all those boats. He stood on the bluff at Simpson, watching the long line of them come and holding onto his mother's hand."

When he grew to young manhood, David spent several summers tracking for the Bay up the Liard River. David's mother had died, and his father, Old Mink, married Denise, who had an illegitimate child (Bob, now dead). David subsequently married Nanette, the sister of his father's new wife. Nanette and her first husband, Old Renard (who appears to have been maintaining a polygynous household), had parted, but she retained her baby son by that marriage, Marcel Renard.

Old Mink, his wife, and David travelled and trapped in various parts of the Mackenzie region for several years. For six years they lived about fifty miles downriver (northwest) from Fort Simpson. Then the little group backpacked into the South Nahanni River country and stayed there for a while. It was apparently some time during this period that David married Nanette. Their roving eventually carried them back past Simpson and into the Horn Mountain country and thence, finally, into the Lynx Point region. Near the present village site, there was already a cabin where a "sister" (probably classificatory) of Old Mink lived with her husband.

For six years the Minks lived in tents, wintering at the "fish lakes" back in the bush. With them was the aged mother of the two sister-wives and a third sister, widowed, with her three sons and two daughters (the Loches). A brother of the women was also with them. When he married he moved to his wife's band for several years. Marcel recalls that in these

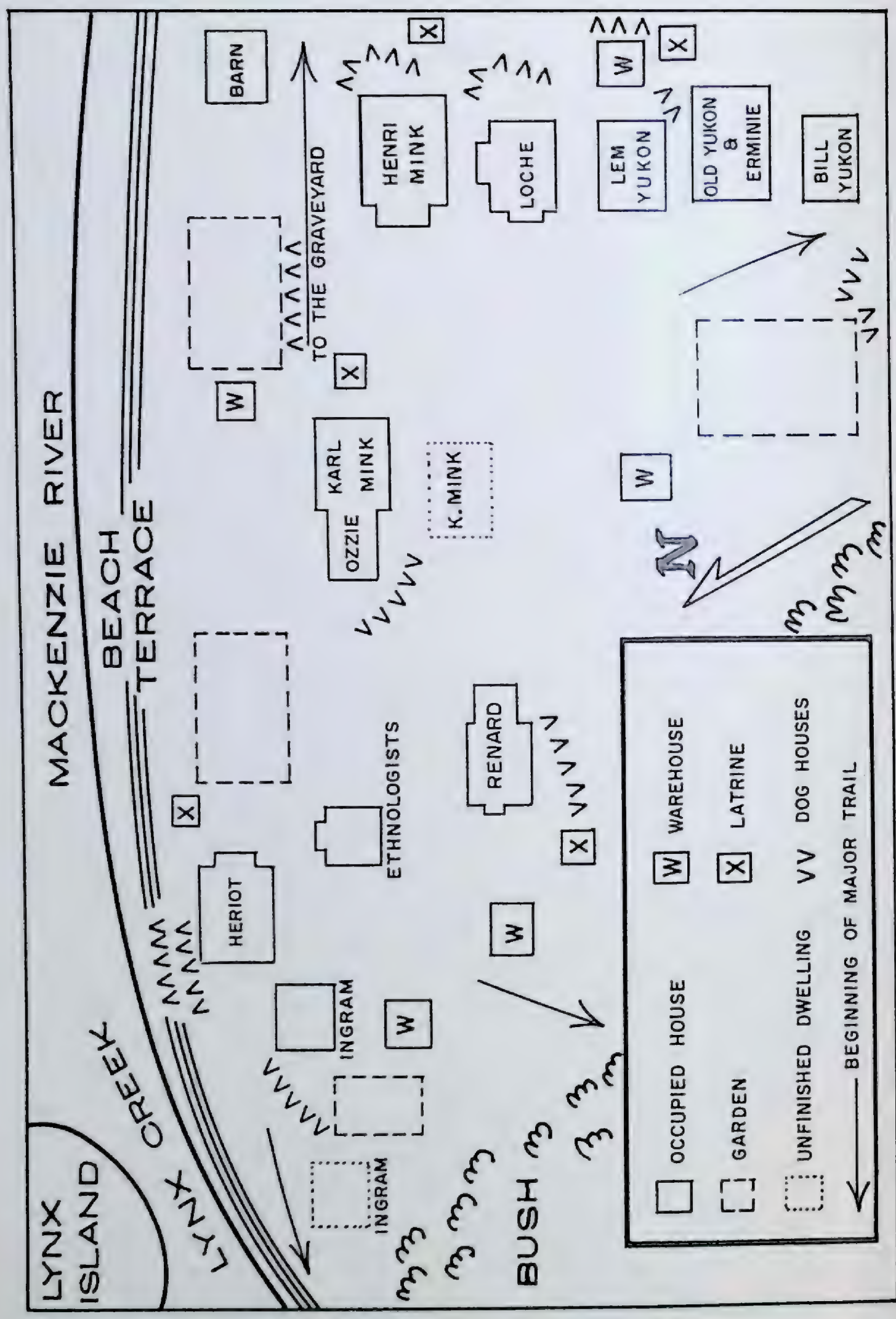


FIGURE 2.—Schematic map of Lynx Point.

early years there were few hunters for the band, only Old Mink, Old Mink's son David, and their mutual brother-in-law. Only two or three of the children were old enough to be of economic aid.

By the time Old Mink built the first house of the present community, after six years of bush living, his "sister" and her husband were gone from the area. But, besides the children being produced by the two Mink households, another set of new members came into the nascent village—Yukon and his two small sons. Old Yukon had known the Minks from years past in Simpson, and before that, in the years spent in the South Nahanni region. After his wife deserted him for another man, leaving the two children to him, Yukon came to Lynx Point to marry the oldest Loche girl, daughter of the widowed sister.

As the years passed, four or five other men, sometimes with families, settled in the community proper or for a time in the Lynx Point region, and then moved on again. In two instances, a child of these transient families returned in later years to Lynx Point as a spouse (Daniel Heriot, and Emily, wife of Isadore Loche). Two of the Loche boys left the community and have since died. At one time, the sister-wives' brother returned, with his wife and her parents, to live for two years "in a tepee back in the bush." The father-in-law, an ancient called Gah-lia, was a "medicine sing guy," a shaman who cured and performed feats. Isadore Loche moved away from Lynx Point for several years, living with various other bands. At least part of his period of absence was for purposes of courtship, ultimately successful.

One transient who trapped and traded at Lynx Point for several years in the 1930's was a White Canadian, Andrews. The youngest Mink brother, Ozzie, who was but a boy at the time, learned to speak English from him. Marcel Renard formed a friendship with Andrews and trapped with him for two seasons. It was at this period in his adulthood that Marcel developed his pidgin fluency in English, and from Andrews he gained his first experience with motors.

In the summer of 1928, a virulent influenza epidemic struck the Indians the length of the Mackenzie drainage.¹ "That time, all the old people die," and Old Mink was among them. His three sons were but children at that time, but his wife Denise did not remarry. She trapped for fur and engaged in subsistence snaring to support her children, and it was she who trained her youngest, Ozzie, but four or five years of age at his father's death, in bush techniques.

Marcel, son of Old David's wife by her first husband, was the first of the present adult generation to marry. His wife was a distant affinal relative from Simpson. Marcel was pressured into the union by a common kinsman (through Marcel's biological father) as the girl was pregnant by Marcel. Next, Henri, Old Mink's eldest son, sought a wife. His first choice turned up

¹ Bourget, an Indian Agent at the time for the Great Slave Lake area, including Dog-Ribs as well as Slaves, states: "Le nombre de décès dans mon district fut de deux cents, sur une population de deux mille (métis et blancs), et autant dans le Mackenzie proprement dit." Clermont Bourget, *Douze Ans Chez les Sauvages* (Ste-Anne-de-Beaupré, Québec, en vente chez l'auteur, n.d.), p. 205.

the following spring with a "big belly, but not mine," so Henri took another girl, from the Providence region, as wife. They brought her widowed mother back to Lynx Point with them, and later the wife's youngest brother, Arnie Tucho, who had been placed in the Mission School at Providence. The oldest Yukon son, Lem, followed the pattern of Old David's marriage, taking as wife Bessie Loche, the sister of his father's second wife. Here again, a pregnancy precipitated the marriage. Old Yukon's second wife died about this time, and Henri's widowed mother-in-law, Erminie, became his third spouse.

More marriages followed as the younger generation of Minks grew up. Old David's elder daughter, Liza, married Daniel Heriot, youngest son of one of the families who had resided for a while at Lynx Point. Daniel moved to Lynx Point and remained. A liaison between the younger daughter of Old David, Thérèse, and her mother's sister's son (also her father's father's son), Karl Mink, resulted in a pregnancy, and she was married off to a friend of her half-brother, Marcel. This family, the Ingrams, has also remained at Lynx Point. Within the last ten years, the younger Yukon brother, Karl Mink, and Isadore Loche (now in his fifties) have all married. Ozzie, the youngest second generation Mink and about thirty years of age, is still unmarried.

The Community Today

Embedded in the foregoing account are several events bearing on social organization and norms of Slavey life. These will be referred to later. For the present, the material provides a background for the understanding of present-day community life. Most of the more general characterizations, unless otherwise specified, hold for the two other band-communities nearest Lynx Point. I have no reason to suppose that they do not hold for most or all of the Slavey bush settlement, but personal knowledge covers only Lynx Point and its two closest neighbouring settlements.

The Lynx Point group is one of the largest bush band-communities of the Mackenzie area. It is composed at present of nine families of procreation, plus certain additional relatives of these families. In September, 1951, the total population was fifty-six; of these, twenty-one individuals were 25 years of age or older (five being past sixty); seven were between 12 and 20 years of age; the remaining twenty-seven were children under 12 years of age. Other settlements may have but three or four families of procreation, with a total population of perhaps twenty or twenty-five individuals.

The Slavey bush community is composed of kindred; the component members are woven together in a web of relationships of blood and marriage. The community, if we may take the case of Lynx Point and the two neighbouring settlements to be representative, grows and elaborates from a small nucleus of primary relatives, holding marital, sibling, or parent-child relationships to one another. If a newcomer has no close kin affiliations, affinal or consanguineal, upon entry, continued residence tends to produce them, as it usually leads to, or is brought about by, his own or his offspring's marriage, or both, to a community member. The local group *per se* has rules

neither of exogamy nor of endogamy, although one's kin relationship to the fellow-villager must be taken into account when considering an intra-community marriage (*See* the following section on kinship). Kinship considerations disposed of, the factors of propinquity and familiarity apparently operate to encourage marriage within the community, especially in the case of second marriages. The decision as to the site of permanent and final residence after marriage is also worked out individually (*see* kinship section).

The bush community, then, is characteristically a bilocal extended family, and, as such, it is apparently a more stabilized, permanent version of the earlier, semi-nomadic hunt-band. This band-community is the largest social unit in which intimate, face-to-face relationships of long association obtain between all members. Figure 3 illustrates the kinship relations that prevail among the members of the Lynx Point community.

The Lynx Point people, as they term themselves, see themselves as a social unit apart from the rest of the Slavey world—indeed, except for a few kin ties, no part of that greater world commands allegiance. Certainly the primary factors contributing to community in-group feeling are the family and kinship ties that lace the group, coupled with the strength of sentiment that stems from long-term association in isolation. Old Mink and his son, David, with their sister-wives and their descendants are the core family—the founding family group and the one through which each member of the community is linked by kinship to all other members. Today, the living males of the core family are Old David, Marcel (though related only as step-son and step-brother), Henri, Karl, and Ozzie. I use the term “core group” to designate the core family plus its male affiliates—Isadore (allied through his mother), Daniel and Zachary (allied through their wives).

It is from the now-adult male offspring of the founding generation that overt expression of communal “clanishness” most often comes. On the positive side, it may be seen in their pride in their joint possessions and their reputation as the hard-working “Lynx Point boys.” But most characteristically, it takes the form of caution or mistrust in regard to non-Lynx Point Indians. The motives and probable behaviour of outsiders are often suspect; especially, feared is unfavourable gossip about Lynx Point.

Within the community we find that the general social alignment displays two major, interrelated characteristics—an over-all correspondence to family affiliations and a certain degree of factional cleavage. This cleavage is far from complete; the situation may be better described as a continuum of social interaction between two poles, but with social sentiments causing a partial break in the continuum. Although the terms somewhat obscure the true picture, the poles are most easily characterized by assigning the name of the core family, “the Minks,” to one pole and that of “the Yukons” to the other.

In terms of the degree of sense of identification with one faction and of sense of apartness from the other, plus the actual proportion of social interaction drawing toward one extremity or pole as against the other, each individual at Lynx Point finds his place at some point on the continuum.

Children



Some persons occupy roughly a midway position, others definitely verge toward one extreme or the other. The positions of the men on the continuum are better known to me than are those of the women and children. On the whole, the women's sentiments and interaction patterns appear to follow those of their husbands. There are some variations. Bessie Yukon, for example, regularly visits her parallel cousin, Liza, although their respective husbands' contacts with each other are very slight. But then, the two women are "sisters." Because of age factors, the children are somewhat more divergent. Since the behaviour of the adult males is the more important in the "political" and economic structure of the community, it holds more interest for us in this matter.

The social-continuum of male household heads is exemplified in most part by the spatial arrangement of the household units within the Lynx Point village. If one stands on the beach of the Mackenzie River in front of the community and surveys the occupied houses from downstream (northwest) to upstream (southeast), one's eyes travel in roughly this line:

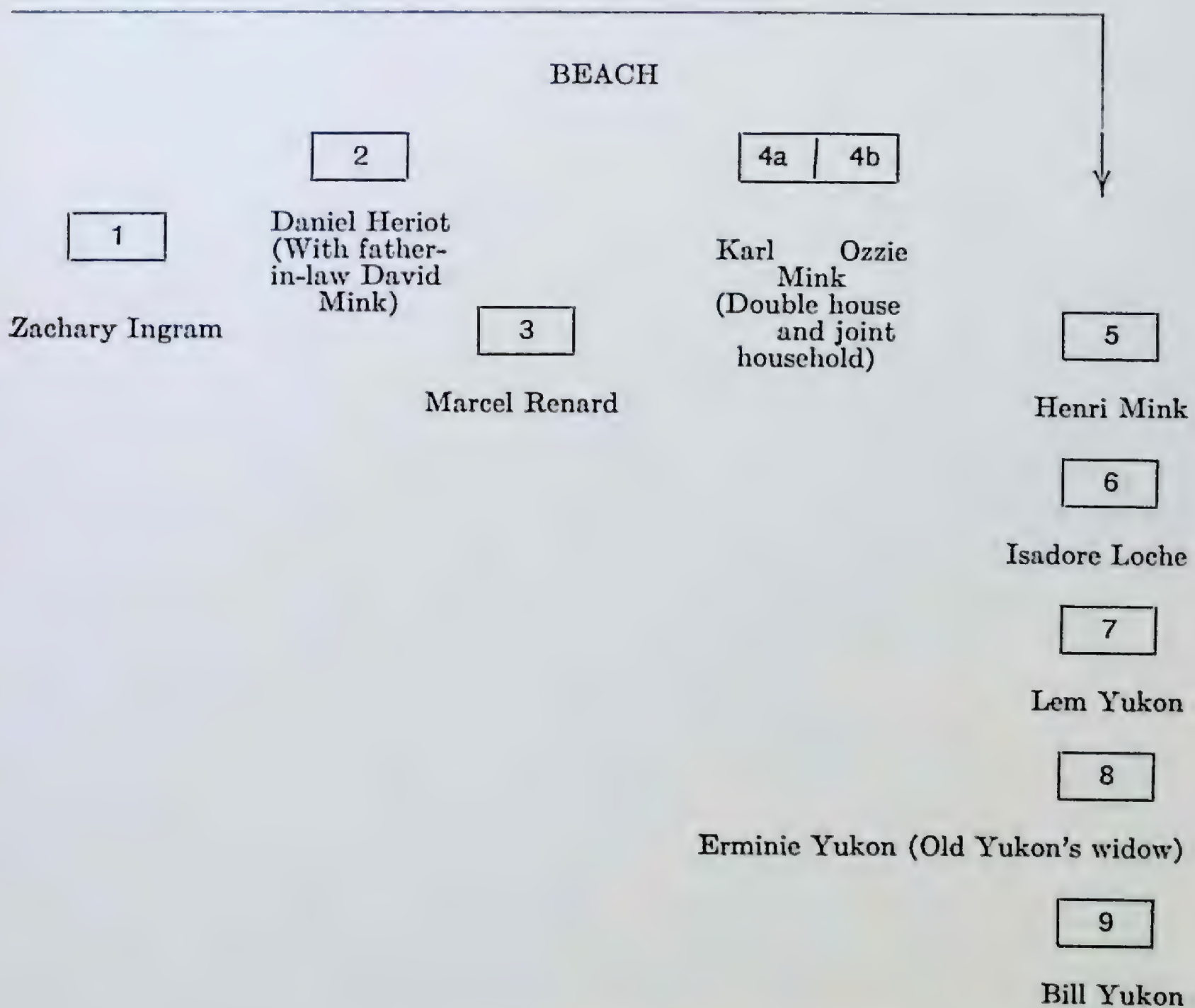


FIGURE 4.—Spatial arrangement of households.

Straightening the imaginary line and, with it, the houses it threads, we then have this arrangement:

1	2	3	4a	4b	5	6	7	8	9
Zachary	Daniel	Marcel	Karl	Ossie	Henri	Isadore	Lem	Erminie	Bill
	and			Mink			Yukon		
	Old								
	David ¹								

Following the course of the line from left to right, we are, in main part, also following the continuum of interaction and sentiment from the "Mink pole" to the "Yukon pole." Figure 5, which superimposes household units upon the Lynx Point kinship relations, shows that the spatial alignment of the households in general reflects the degree of kinship affiliation between the members of the different households.

I have spoken of movement from the "Mink pole" to the "Yukon pole," rather than vice versa, for two reasons. First, the families whose allegiances are primarily "Mink" are numerically superior: they are more active in terms of joint endeavours, and the two original male Minks are recognized as having founded the community. These Minks and their descendants I have termed "the core family." Secondly, and this is a justification of expediency rather than logic, the ethnographers were much more intimate with the Mink faction than with the Yukons, so that the situation was seen primarily from the viewpoint of the Mink pole.

The criteria—sentiments and social interaction—for the arrangement of households along the continuum include, in the latter category, the amount of drinking, visiting, and general sociability between households, and the amount of minor economic exchange and aid. In part, of course, the contiguity of particular households in itself encourages greater interaction between them than between more distant households. The criterion "sentiments" is in part inferred from the evidence of social interaction, but it is also derived from the attitudes verbally expressed by members of the community. This criterion enables us to draw a line of demarcation on the continuum between "the Minks" and "the Yukons," for those persons who tend toward the "Mink pole" draw the line themselves in conversation, speaking of "the Yukons" as distinct from the rest of the community. This line falls between Households 6 and 7. The general tenor is that "the Yukons" are to be considered as somewhat separate from the rest of the community, whose remaining members, by default of vital distinctions among them, fall into a single category, which we may call the Mink faction or the core group. It is these eight men of the core group who are the joint owners and operators of the power-boat and barge.

Considering the household-continuum scheme in more detail, the first point to be made is that, in terms of amount of social interaction, Households 1 and 2, Ingram and Heriot, are the farthest removed from the Yukons.

¹ Old David Mink is treated minimally here, because his social role is minimal.

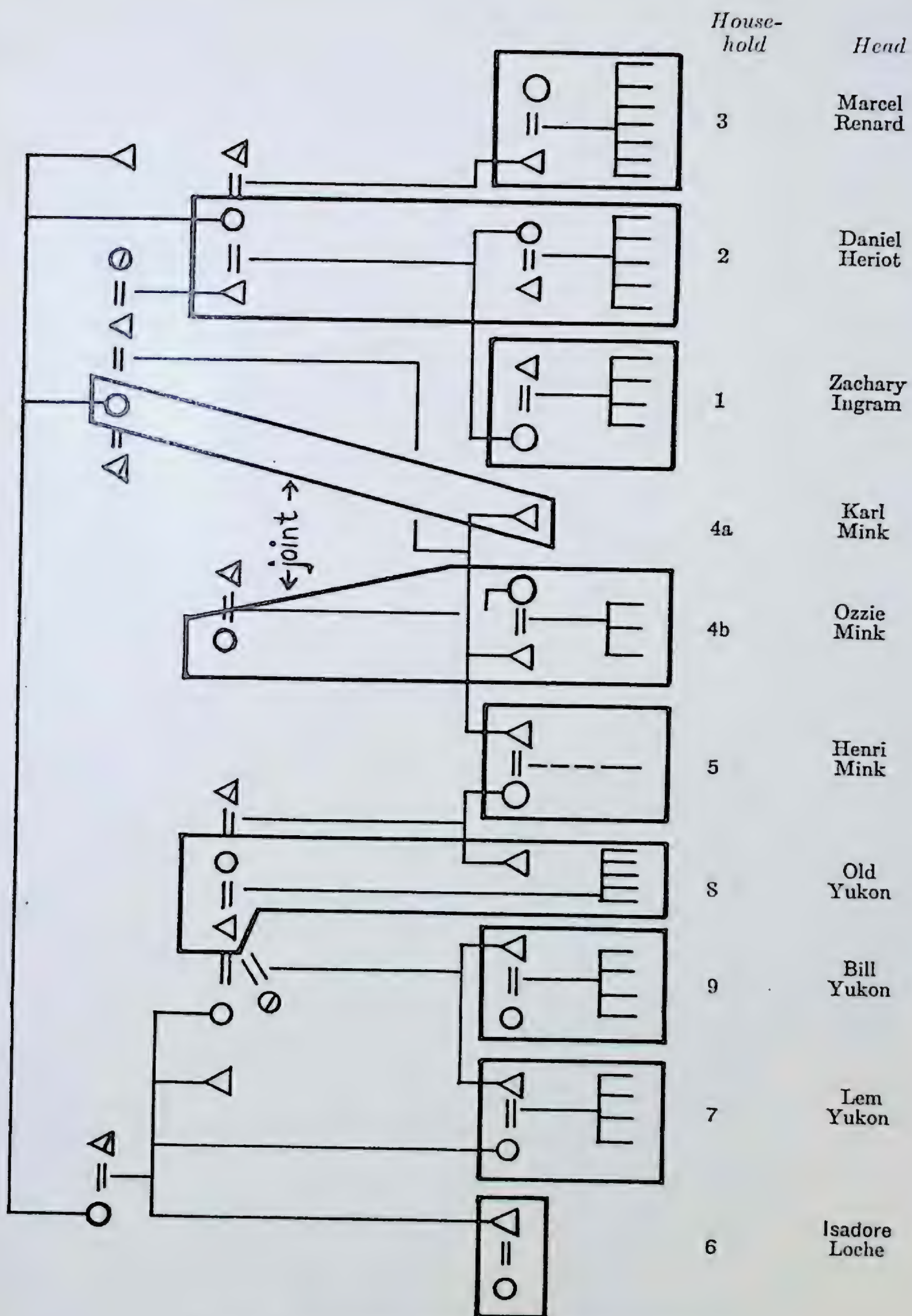


FIGURE 5.—Households and their kin composition.

In both of these households, the male heads are related to the Yukons only through their Mink wives, and the latter's relation is through marriage of kinsmen (See Figures 3 and 5). These household heads appeared never to visit or work alone with the Yukons or to invite them to drink, except on a few special all-group occasions. The heads of Households 3, 4a, 4b, and 5 are all Mink "brothers," for here Marcel Renard, both parallel cousin ("Elder Brother") to the others in the female line and step-half-nephew (step-son to their half-brother) in the male line, largely identifies himself and is identified. These households are in much more frequent interaction with the Yukons than are Households 1 and 2. Closer affinal kin affiliations no doubt account for it in part, as also does the fact that the Mink males and the Yukon brothers grew up together in the Lynx Point community. We should note here that Henri Mink, the oldest Mink brother and head of Household 5, is the most intimately involved of any of the Mink faction with the Yukon contingent; besides frequently interacting socially with the Yukon brothers, his household is closely tied to the household of Erminie Yukon, Household 8. Erminie is Henri's wife's mother, and to Henri falls much of the responsibility of supporting this woman and her children produced by her second marriage to Old Yukon, father of Lem and Bill Yukon (Households 7 and 9). Old Yukon died in the first months of the field work. Data indicating the extent to which Isadore Loche, head of Household 7, interacts with the Mink "brothers" as against the Yukon brothers, are weak. Certainly his "foreign" wife, from Fort Providence, definitely veers Yukon-ward, largely through her friendship with her husband's sister, who is wife to Lem Yukon. Isadore appears to hover somewhere near the mid-point of the continuum, in terms of amount of social interaction; but his kin affiliations as "Elder Brother" (parallel cousin) to the Minks, plus his participation in the joint economic ventures of the Mink faction, suggest that he should be placed on the Mink side of the ledger. Certainly the Minks consider him so. With the heads of Households 1 and 2 he has only peripheral relations.

Although the male heads of Households 1 and 2 maintain the greatest social distance from the Yukons, it is from the Mink males, including Marcel Renard, that one most commonly hears the distinction made between "the Yukons" and the rest of the community. Of this group, Karl Mink, head of Household 4a, is the most vocal and derogatory toward the Yukons. But Marcel Renard and Henri Mink will, on occasion, express stereotypes identifying "the Yukons" as distinct from the rest of the community.¹ Primarily, the latter's statements stemmed, not from animus or eagerness to gossip, but from a sense of duty, as leaders of the core family and group, to protect the visitors (the ethnographers) and, through them, the community from injury through lack of knowledge about the nature of "the Yukons." Their references were primarily toward the two adult Yukon brothers, as well

¹ Ozzie Mink, the youngest and unmarried Mink brother, does not play a fully adult role in the community. He was not heard to voice any opinions. However, he once made the *faux pas* of inviting Carterette to a Yukon brew party, for which he was rebuked by Marcel and Henri.

as Lem Yukon's wife, Bessie (parallel cousin to the Minks). Marcel's and Henri's cautions ran thus: the Yukons fight when they are drunk; *ergo*, don't drink with them; the Yukons gossip and give out information about the "Lynx Point people" to Fort Simpson people and other outsiders; *ergo*, don't let them know that you drink with Indians; don't let them know that there may be a valuable vein of rock up Lynx Creek, and so on. In addition to these warnings, Karl Mink, expressing obviously hostile feeling, would add two more black marks against "the Yukons," apparently including all individuals, children and adults of that name: "all the Yukons lie," and "all the Yukons steal."

Since the ethnographers' association with the Yukons was slight, it is difficult to estimate to what extent the rest of the Lynx Point community is really more virtuous in these respects than the Yukons.¹ Certainly the major anxieties regarding "the Yukons" are the same anxieties that are expressed toward all other Slaveys that are not "Lynx Point people"—to paraphrase, "They fight when drinking, and they will gossip about Lynx Point; so be careful of what you say and do."

To reiterate the major points brought forth in this section: next to the nuclear family, it is the community that commands the individual's strongest feelings of allegiance and identification. The fact that one's fellow community members are also kinsmen heavily contributes to this allegiance. And as we have seen, the line of fission within the Lynx Point community runs between the two major kin clusters, predicated through the male line, within the group.

KINSHIP

*Kinship Terminology*²

Introduction.—A consistent picture of kinship terminology was not obtained from informants. In some areas of kinship classification, there was complete agreement; in others, informants contradicted one another in the terms given, or professed ignorance or uncertainty as to the correct terms. Four informants were questioned in the abstract on kinship terms; of these, two, Cora Renard and Henri Mink, seemed more willing and surer of themselves and were questioned in more detail than were the other two, Zachary

¹ In point of fact, the greatest social menace, from the ethnographers' point of view, turned out to be the twenty-year-old full brother of Henri Mink's wife, Arnie. Although his unpleasant traits were well known to the community, the few early warnings we received about him were so oblique as not to be clear to us. It appears that in this instance, when dealing with Henri's wife's "little brother," the Minks were hesitant to speak as openly as they did about "the Yukons."

² Historical and technical problems arising from Slave kin terminology are not pursued in this section, as they have already been taken up in a prior publication: June Helm MacNeish, "Kin Terms of the Arctic Drainage Déné: Hare, Slavey, Chipewyan," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 62, No. 2, April 1960, pp. 279-295. In this article, the cross-tribal data help to clarify some of the ambiguities and inconsistencies found in the nomenclature given by the Lynx Point Slave.

Ingram and Daniel Heriot. In addition, eleven individuals (including the four mentioned above) gave the kin terms that they apply to every other individual living at Lynx Point, the actual lines of relationship being known to the investigator.

Most of the confusion or ignorance lay in the terms for collateral relatives of the first and second descending generations and in the designation of cross-cousins. Some of the specific sources of difficulty, beyond the likelihood that the terminology system is in a general state of change or decay, in attaining a clear and consistent picture are as follows:

1. The members of the Lynx Point community whom it was possible to interview were lacking, in so far as the interviewer could ascertain, a full complement of relatives standing in all the possible different kin relationships. For example, by ill luck, as all actual cousins (except among the children) chanced to be parallel, the interviewer could not draw upon the adult informants' "practical" knowledge by calling for the kin terms applied to real people standing in the cross-cousin relationship to the informant. (It will be seen that the two informants questioned on cross and parallel cousins made a distinction between them but did not agree on the terms given for cross-cousins.)

2. Except for primary relatives, close classificatory siblings, and grandparents, kin terms are not commonly used, vocatively or in reference. Given names or teknonymous reference are employed instead. This lack of common usage may account for or reflect some of the uncertainty as to correct terms for certain secondary relatives of the descending generation, such as siblings' children.

3. Regional variations in idiom no doubt account for some of the instances where different informants gave different terms for a particular relative. Since the members of the Lynx Point band stem from diverse points of origin in the Simpson and Providence areas, no "Lynx Point terminology" *per se* exists. And as the brothers of the Mink core family called upon their respective "foreign" wives for aid in naming certain relationships, there was not perfect agreement between their terminologies.

The term *deko*", brother's son, was explicitly recognized by one informant to be a regional variant, used "from here downstream" (toward Simpson and beyond) but not employed "further upstream." The fact that the two women and one man who gave "grandfather" and "grandmother" (*etsi* and *etsu*) as the terms for HuFa and HuMo are from the Providence region may explain why their terms differed from the terms more commonly given by men and women for the parent-in-law relationships, namely, "mother's brother" and "father's sister" (*se'e* and *e^hmbe*). (Morgan lists the "grandfather" and "grandmother" terms

as being applied to the parents-in-law by the Fort Liard Slave.)¹ Also, the differing terms given by the two informants on cross-cousins might be accounted for by their different regional backgrounds.

4. Although the two informants (Cora and Henri) explicitly questioned on the subject denied that male and female speakers ever employ different kin terms, it is nevertheless likely that this factor accounts for some of the cases where two terms were obtained for a particular relative. Honigmann lists certain relatives as designated by different terms according to the sex of the speaker for both the Fort Nelson and the Hay River areas.² Morgan's extensive list of kinship terms from the Fort Liard Slave also makes this distinction in several instances. The terms *setča* and *setθue*, given in most instances by Lynx Point informants for "grandchild" and "son's wife," are recorded by Morgan as being used by male speaker and female speaker respectively.³ One of the Lynx Point male informants used the *setča* term, but it seems very likely that the usage was formerly as Morgan indicated. Similarly, this factor may account in part for the conflicting terms given for various categories of siblings' children,⁴ but analysis in terms of sex of speaker does not wholly resolve the confusion.

5. Knowledge of the morphology of the Slave language and phonetic modifications within it would illuminate the problem of the formation and denotations of various kin terms. This resource was beyond the ability of the interrogator. For example, it was determined that there is a distinction in the minds of speakers between the word for "son," *seža*, and a very similar word, variously applied by different informants to certain other relatives of the first and second descending generations. The latter term, transcribed *seižaa*, is probably a contraction of one or more descriptive phrases, one, in the instance of wife's sister's son or daughter, being *seye beža* (sibling-in-law/her baby). If *seižaa* does spring from descriptive terms, its random application would be more understandable.

Several non-Lynx Point Slavey of the Providence-Simpson area were interviewed on kinship terminology during a brief visit to the region in 1955. In most cases the data added little in the way of completeness or clarity to the Lynx Point material. One young educated Slavey from the Providence region, however, took an interest in the problem, checking, with old "aunts," points on which he was unsure and uninformed. I have included his contributions where they seem helpful. (He is a parallel cousin to the wife of Karl Mink of Lynx Point.)

¹ Lewis H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1871), XVII, 370-71.

² Honigmann, *Fort Nelson Slave*, p. 68.

³ These terms are transcribed by Morgan as *sa'cha* and *sat'thu a* respectively. Op. cit., p. 296.

⁴ This would be in agreement with Morgan's statements about these categories. Ibid., p. 234.

TABLE 4

LYNX POINT SLAVE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

	Lynx Point Informants		Providence Informant
<u>MoFa, FaFa</u>	etsi	—	x
<u>MoMo, FaMo</u>	etsu ⁿ	—	x
<u>Fa</u>	seta	apa {the vocative forms, al-	x x
<u>Mo</u>	semo ⁿ	ama {though not restricted to that use	x x also ene
<u>Ego</u>	si ⁿ	—	x
<u>So</u>	seža	—	—
<u>Da</u>	setué	—	x
<u>FaBr</u>	eta	—	x
<u>FaSi</u>	e ^h mbe	(emo ⁿ)	x x
<u>MoBr</u>	se'e	(eta)	x x
<u>MoSi</u>	emo ⁿ	—	x, also so ⁿ
<u>eBr</u>	gunde	(sunde)	x
<u>vBr</u>	seče	diminutives: sečia, ečia, čia	x etc.
<u>eSi</u>	emba	—	x, embade (says emba is vocative)
<u>ySi</u>	sede	diminutives: sedia, edia, dia	x
<u>FaBrSo eld</u>	gunde	—	—
<u>yng</u>	seče	—	x
<u>FaBrDa eld</u>	emba	—	x
<u>yng</u>	sede	—	x
<u>MoSiSo eld</u>	gunde	—	x
<u>yng</u>	seče	—	x
<u>MoSiDa eld</u>	emba	—	x
<u>yng</u>	sede	—	x

TABLE 4—Continued

The next eight categories (comprising cross-cousins and siblings' children) were areas of uncertainty, conflicting answers, or outright ignorance on the part of the eleven informants. All terms given are presented below:

	Lynx Point Informants			Providence Informant
<i>FaSiSo</i>	gunde seče	sečel ¹		seye
<i>FaSiDa</i>	emba	se'e	seye	seye
<i>MoBrSo</i>	gunde seče	se'e	—	seye
<i>MoBrDa</i>	emba sede	se'e	seye	seye
<i>BrSo</i>	saze	se'e	♂ deko ⁿ seižaa	(♂ deko ⁿ) seižaa
<i>BrDa</i>	♀ ?sede	se'e	♂ ?setué, seižaa (♂ deko ⁿ)	(unsure, possibly setué)
<i>SiSo</i>	♀ seža	se'e	♂ saze	♂ saze
<i>SiDa</i>	♀ sede	se'e	♂ saze	♂ saze
<i>SoSo</i>	♀ ?setca	♂ ?setŌue	seižaa	xxx
<i>DaSo</i>	♀ ?setca	♂ ?setŌue	seižaa	xxx
<i>SoDa</i>	seižaa	♂ ?setŌue	(setča) ²	setŌue, setča
<i>DaDa</i>	seiga ³	♂ ?setŌue	(setča) ¹ seto ⁿ (given by Henri, probably confused)	setŌue setča
<i>WiMo</i>	e ^h mbe			x
<i>HuMo</i>	e ^h mbe	(etsu ⁿ)		xx
<i>WiFa</i>	se'e			x
<i>HuFa</i>	se'e	(etsia)		xx
<i>SoWi</i>	♀ ?setča	♂ ?setŌue		saze
<i>DaHu</i>	seto ⁿ			saze
<i>WiBr</i>	seye	—		x
<i>HuBr</i>	seye	—		x

TABLE 4—*Concluded*

	Lynx Point Informants	Providence Informant
<u>SiHu</u>	seye —	x
<u>WiSi</u>	seye —	x
<u>HuSi</u>	seye —	x
<u>BrWi</u>	seye —	x

NOTES: The underlining (e.g., *MoFa*, *FaFa*) of certain symbols of kin categories on the left denotes complete or substantial agreement of all informants as to the appropriate term. Parenthesized terms are rare alternatives. x signifies that Providence informant agrees. Throughout, prefix s- denotes possession by speaker. Note that collateral "mothers" and "fathers" are designated by same root but without the possessive prefix.

♀ Probably term used by female speaker only.

♂ Probably term used by male speaker only.

Question mark after ♀ or ♂ denotes possibility rather than probability.

¹ The informant (Henri) who gave in formal interview the term *se'e* for the eight categories (cross-cousins and siblings' children) corroborated himself by applying them to real-life relatives standing in relationship of siblings' children. (He has no real-life cross-cousins.) A casual informant, Marcel, employed *se'e* for his real-life SiSo (stating that he called SiSo by the same term that the boy called him, *se'e*, *MoBr*), but he did not know what to call his SiDa. A comment by the Providence informant perhaps provides a partial explanation for this variation, at least in regard to cross-siblings' children. He said that people will often call a child by the terms by which the adult should be addressed (especially *eta* and *se'e*) so that the child will learn the proper term for that adult. Marcel and Henri may be harkening back to their childhood when their mothers' brother lived in the community to produce these terms.

² Given by both male and female non-Lynx Point informants.

³ See text.

⁴ See footnote 1.

Kinship terms and their objects of application.—In the listing below, general agreements in use of kinship terms are presented. Some of the more minor conflicts in use are not noted here (See also Table 4).

(1) *sedene*. "My husband," applied to that one individual only.

(2) *setzeke*. "My wife," applied to that one individual only.

(3) *etsi*. "Grandfather," applied to both mother's and father's father, and to any males who stand in relation of "brother" to ego's real grandparents. Great-grandparents and great-grandchildren are assigned the "grandparent" and "grandchild" terms, respectively. If an expression of exact relationship is desired, a qualifying suffix is added. For example, "great-grandfather" may be expressed *etsiro*. Apparently *-ro* literally means "great," "big."

(4) *etsu*. "Grandmother"; application is the same, except for sex, as for the "grandfather" term.

(5) (*s*)*eta*. Ego's real father, when used with possessive prefix *s-*. Without the prefix, as *eta*, applied to step-father, to father's real or classificatory brothers, to the spouse of anyone called "mother," and to the male parent of anyone called "brother" or "sister" (e.g., Fa, FaBr, MoSiHu, BrWiBr, WiFa).

(6) *apa*. Appears to be limited to real father. It is used as the vocative, although it is not restricted to that use.

(7) (*s*)*emo*. Ego's real mother, when used with possessive prefix *s-*. Without prefix, as *emo*, applied to step-mother, to mother's "sister," to spouse of anyone called "father," and to the female parent of anyone called "brother" or "sister."

(8) *ama*. Same as *apa*, but for female parent.

(9) *se'e*. "Mother's brother." Applied also to father-in-law (by both male and female speaker), to spouse of anyone called *e^mmbe*, "father's sister," and to father of anyone called *seye*, "sibling-in-law" (and to father-in-law of anyone called "sibling").

(10) *e^mmbe*. "Father's sister." The same application, except for reversals of sex, as for *se'e*.

(11, 12) *gunde*, *seče*. "Older brother" and "younger brother," respectively. Also applied to MoSiSo and FaBrSo. Further applied to the husband of any female called *seye*, "sibling-in-law." (For example, the spouse of MoSiSo-WiSi is called "brother"—MoSiSo is "brother," his wife is "sibling-in-law," and her sister is also "sibling-in-law"; *ergo*, the latter's husband is "brother" to ego.)

(13, 14) *emba*, *sede*. "Older sister" and "younger sister," respectively. Also applied to MoSiDa and FaBrDa, and is further extended, with reversal of sex, in the same way as are the terms for "brother."

Because of the confusion regarding cross-cousin terminology, none of the terms listed have been credited as being applied to cross-cousins. It may be well, however, to take up the cross-cousin problem at this point.

Two of the formal informants (Zachary and Daniel) were not questioned as to possible distinction in terminology between cross- and parallel cousins. They gave the "brother" (*gunde*, *seče*) and "sister" (*emba*, *sede*) terms as the words for "cousins" *per se*. The two children questioned about real-life relatives designated cross-cousins as siblings. Cora Renard (who appeared to have the most knowledge of terminology) stated that cross-cousins were different from parallel cousins. She gave the term *seye* ("sibling-in-law") for FaSiDa and MoBrDa, but gave the "brother" (older and younger) terms for

FaSiSo and MoBrSo. Her use of *seye* for female cross-cousin would terminologically support her statements concerning preferential cross-cousin marriage (*see below*), for a woman's brother would be likely to marry their mutual MoBrDa or FaSiDa, making that female cross-cousin "sibling-in-law" to the female speaker. But the use of a "brother" term for marriageable male cross-cousins upsets the logic of the terminology system.

The male fourth informant (Henri) was questioned also on cross-versus parallel-cousin terminological distinctions. He agreed with all others that parallel cousins are "brothers" and "sisters," but he introduced a completely different term for both male and female cross-cousins, namely *se'e* ("mother's brother"), and went on to ascribe this term to brothers' and sisters' offspring of both sexes, as well (*see the relevant footnote to the terminology table*). The young Providence informant gives *seye* for all cross-cousins. Other non-Lynx Point informants (five) kept the issue clouded, *some* giving *seye* for *some* cross-cousins. In sum, it appears that today what a Slavey calls his cross-cousin, if name him he must, is anybody's guess.¹

To return to the rest of the kinship terms used at Lynx Point:

(15) *seye*. "Sibling-in-law." Applied, regardless of sex, to affinal relatives in ego's generation, except in instances where an individual, by virtue of being the spouse of a sibling-in-law's sibling, is accorded the title of "brother" or "sister" (as cited under items 13, 14).

Also, according to Cora Renard, the informant questioned on the subject, SoWiMo and DaHuMo are called *seye*, whereas SoWiFa and DaHuFa are called "brother." This set of terms is in accord with preferential cross-cousin marriage, for female ego's SoWiFa or DaHuFa would then be ego's brothers. Presumably, for male ego the terminology is reversed with male ego's SoWiMo and DaHuMo being, in relationship and terminology, his sisters.

(16) *seža*. "Son." Cora stated that this word is also used for SiSo (probably by female speaker only). However, another female used, after some uncertainty, the phonetically similar *seižaa* for her real-life sister's son and daughter.

(17) *setué*. "Daughter." A few scattered and unsure instances of application to a (real or classificatory) sibling's daughter as well (*see discussion under item 20*).

¹ To add a bit more confusion to the picture: In an attempt to clear up the tangle at Lynx Point, I returned to Cora. She was asked what her own daughter, Noreen, called a distant cousin (Arnie), who is, by Cora's statement, a preferential mate for Noreen. The term *se'e* was given. This agrees with the fourth informant's (Henri's) statement, but not with Cora's previous statement on cross-cousin terminology. In actual practice, the thirteen-year-old Noreen calls Arnie *sunde* (a variant for "older brother"). Cora was next asked what her son Eddie calls his father's (half) sister's daughter, Beatrice—also a preferential mate. Cora gave the term *seye* ("sibling-in-law"). Beatrice for her part, says she calls Eddie "big brother" (*gunde*).

(18) *seižaa*. Application varies. In most instances regarding both real and hypothetical people it is applied, by different Lynx Point informants, to some of the individual's standing in relation of (real or classificatory) sibling's child, male or female. Thus: SiSo and SiDa; BrSo and BrDa; WiSiSo; MoSiWiBrWiSo- and -Da (*see* discussion under item 20). Also, one female informant (Cora) applied it to SoDa; one male to SoSo. The Providence informant says it can be applied to anyone in the younger (child) generation (*See* etymology given earlier). It is probably becoming a generic substitute for individuals in the descending generation as the knowledge of more precise terminology is dying.

(19) *deko*. "Brother's son." This term is probably used by male speaker only. It is applied to classificatory, as well as real, brother's son. In one instance it was used by a male for his classificatory brother's daughter as well.

(20) *saze*. Some Lynx Point informants (male and female) do not employ this term at all. General usage suggests it may be used for real or classificatory "sister's child" by male speaker only; *seža* and *seižaa* were given for "sister's child" by female speakers. One female informant (Cora) applies *saze* to BrSo, but denies that it can be used for BrDa.

The Providence informant expands the hints given in the application of *saze* at Lynx Point. He repeatedly translated *saze* into English as "son-in-law" or "daughter-in-law." The term may be used jokingly, he stated, to tease any little boy about being one's (future) son-in-law. Besides applying *saze* in earnest to DaHu and SoWi, he would use it, from the standpoint of *male ego*, for SiSo and SiDa; for BrDaHu, SiSoWi, BrSoWi (but *deko* for SiDaHu, making that person terminologically "brother's son"); and for WiBrCh (versus *deko* and *setué* for WiSiSo and WiSiDa. For the female speaker, according to the informant's wife (whom he frequently consulted), HuSiCh are *saze*, while HuBrSo and HuBrDa should be called *seža*, *deko* (male speaker term only?) and *seižaa*, *setué*.

So far, except for the ascription of *saze* to (♂ sp.) SiSoWi, this system, stressing cross-sexed sibling's children as *saze*, "children-in-law," suggests sister exchange, and, in the descending generation, cross-cousin marriage. But for the children of parallel as well as cross-cousins, *saze* is assigned by the informant, although he distinguishes cross-cousins ("siblings-in-law," *seye*) from parallel ("brothers" and "sisters"). He did comment that "some people" would call FaBrDaDa *setué*, ("daughter.")

(21) *seto*. Applied to DaHu by the four "abstract" informants at Lynx Point. (The Providence informant gives *saze* for DaHu; but three other male and female outside informants give *seto*, one giving *saze* also, as an alternative.)

(22) *setča*, *setθue*. "Grandchild" (SoDa, SoSo, DaDa, DaSo). Also applied to son's wife. *Setča* was probably once female speaker's term; *setθue*, male's. This distinction, according to sex of speaker, is not recognized now. Like *saze*, *seižaa*, and *seiga* (below), the "grandchild" terms, according to the Providence informant, may be used affectionately to any member of the younger generation.

(23) *seiga*. Given by only one informant (Cora). She applies it to DaDa and to HuBrSo. The Providence informant says that this is merely a term of endearment, "my rabbit," and may be addressed to any child.

Major characteristics of the kinship terminology.—Although the picture of the kinship terminology is confused in some areas, several general characteristics emerge from the data from abstract interviews plus the actual applications of kin terms within the Lynx Point community.

The merging of several types and degrees of collateral relatives under a single term is pronounced. In the first ascending and ego's generation, the ignoring of collaterality is accompanied by a recognition of the sex of the linking relatives, producing a bifurcate merging type of terminology. Thus all of the mother's real or classificatory sisters are lumped under a non-possessive "mother" term (*emo*), and all of the father's "brothers" under a non-possessive "father" term (*eta*), whereas parents' real or classificatory siblings of the opposite sex are termed "mother's brother" (*se'e*) and "father's sister" (*e^mmbe*). It appears that cross-cousin terms (though now in a state of confusion or flux) should, according to more thoughtful informants, be in part or completely distinct from the various sibling terms ("elder brother," "younger brother," "elder sister," "younger sister") which are applied to parallel cousins.

In the second ascending and descending generations, merging, but not bifurcation, is employed. Sex is ignored in the grandchild generation.

In the ascending generations, affinity is ignored. The spouse of anyone standing in the "mother" relationship is "father," and vice versa. The spouse of anyone standing in the "grandmother" relationship is "grandfather," and vice versa. Ego's spouse's parents are "mother's brother" and "father's sister," and their parents are "grandmother" and "grandfather." Also, the parents and grandparents of anyone standing in the "sibling-in-law" relationship receive the same appellations as those of ego's spouse.

In ego's generation, affinity is recognized, but the sex of affinal relatives is ignored; all spouses of "siblings" and "siblings" of spouses are *seye*, "sibling-in-law." Conversely, all spouses of "siblings-in-law" are "siblings" to ego. Thus, ego's brother's wife's brother's wife is "sister" (older or younger) to ego.

The following diagrams illustrate the points brought out in the previous paragraphs:

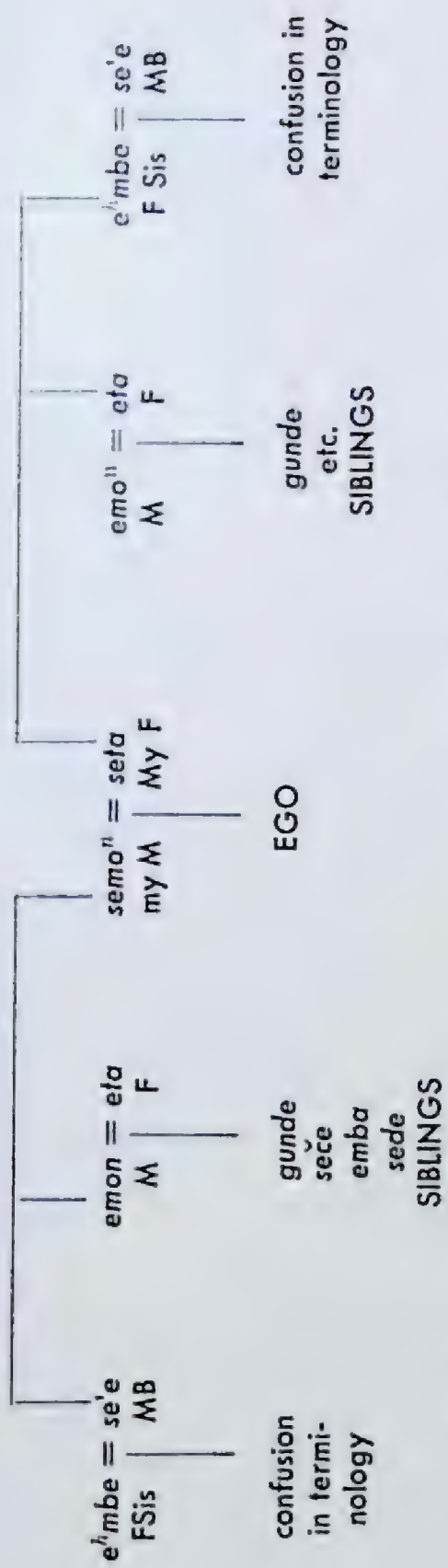


FIGURE 6.—Bifurcate merging terminology in Ego's and Parent's generations.

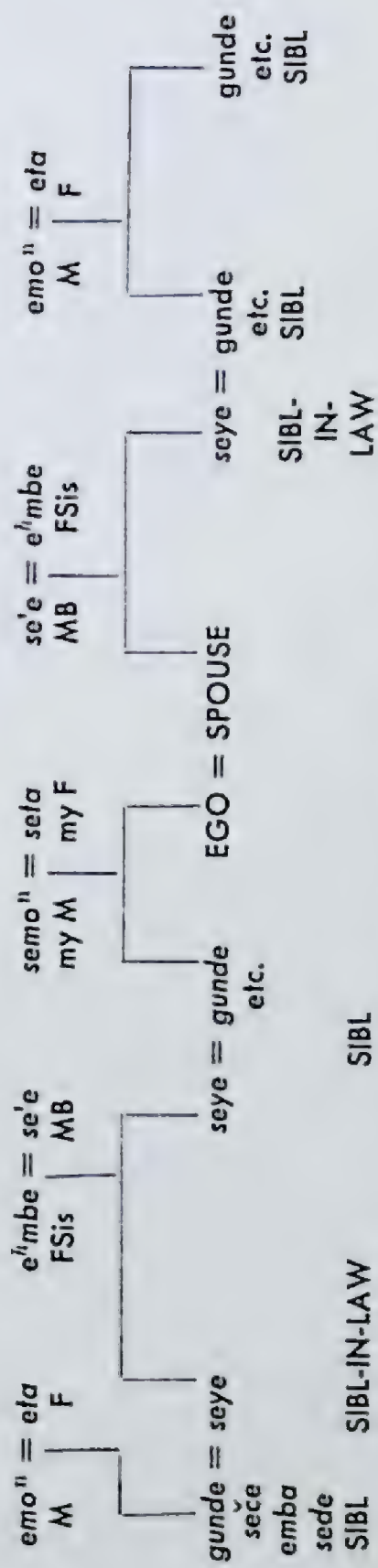


FIGURE 7.—Affinal relative terminology.

The data secured on terms for relatives in the first descending generation are too contradictory to make generalizations. Of the criteria summarized by Murdock,¹ bifurcation, collaterality, sex, generation, affinity, and sex of speaker are all in part recognized and in part ignored, depending on which informant is speaking of which relative. One informant (Henri Mink, noted above) ignores the polarity criterion as well.

Marriage and Residence Patterns²

A common response to a question regarding preferential relative marriage is, "People say it is bad to marry too close." No kind of preferential marriage patterns are offered. However, evidence was obtained indicating that several patterns of preferential marriage are in the aboriginal tradition. It is a reasonable surmise that, besides general acculturational attrition, Christian missionary endeavours have actively suppressed aboriginal marriage patterns. Certainly they would attack polygamy (and thereby in many cases the operation of the levirate), and the Roman Catholic incest interdiction on first-cousin marriages would strike at cross-cousin marriage. The belief that it is "bad to marry too close" and the present-day confusion in cross-cousin terminology, wherein most (but not all) people equate terminologically cross-cousins as well as parallel cousins with siblings, may be direct outgrowths of missionary efforts.

Before returning to Lynx Point, we may look at the summary of a conversation with a sixty-year-old Fort Simpson Slavey informant, an orphan, who, having been raised by a Hudson's Bay factor at the Liard post, spent his life in the service of the Company at Liard and Fort Simpson.

From the field notes:

28 June 1954. I start a conversation with Johnny on marriage practices in the old days. At first, Johnny says in the old days people did not marry relatives. But then, as chit-chat develops, he goes on to say that some people, if they have a good hunter they want to keep him in the family so they "marry close." For example, for this reason Johnny Uta (a young Indian of the Simpson area) married the daughter of his mother's first husband's brother.

I mention sister exchange. Johnny says "That has happened here. I have seen . . ." but what he goes on to describe is the sororate in a specific instance when one man marries three sisters in succession. Johnny says, "I have seen . . ." what amounts to the levirate. He says this is likely to occur when there are three or four small children involved, i.e., the brother takes on the fatherhood of his deceased brother's small children, plus the wife. Johnny says, "The old people would think that is good—to take care of a dead brother's children."

¹ George P. Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York: Macmillan, 1949), pp. 101-106.

² For a consideration of preferential marriage patterns as possible determinants of Slave kinship nomenclature, see J. H. MacNeish "Kin terms of the Arctic Drainage Déné: Hare, Slavey, Chipewyan." *Ibid.*

Our more thoughtful kinship informant at Lynx Point (Cora) did not equivocate regarding marriage of relatives. "People say it is better to marry some relative rather than a stranger." By this criterion, since distant affinal kinsmen come under the classification of "relative" as well as consanguineal ones, there is a broad choice of marriage partners. But Cora stated that within the kindred, certain types of marriage are especially preferential. Cross-cousin marriages, sister exchange, and remarriage to the deceased spouse's sibling (i.e., both the sororate and the levirate) are considered to be "good things to do." A wide-scale survey would be needed to ascertain to what extent the bush Indians of today hold to these practices.

Parallel cousin marriage is proscribed; it was for this reason that Thérèse, pregnant and unwed, was quickly married off to a stranger rather than to her lover, for the latter was her mother's sister's son.

There have been two instances at Lynx Point (recounted in the section on the history of the community) of sisters marrying father and son. As far as could be ascertained, these events exemplify no preferential marriage pattern. (One informant, Marcel, commented that the situation seemed "kinda funny.") Rather, they reflect the importance of affinity, familiarity, and convenience in many marriage arrangements.

Matrilocal residence has been attributed to the Slave Indians by some investigators.¹ If the usages and cultural understandings of the Lynx Point people may be taken as representative of common and traditional Slavey custom, this ascription is in error. The Slave are not matrilocal, taking the term, as Murdock does,² to mean a permanent residence with or near the wife's parents. Rather, the Slavey usage is for the new couple to reside with the bride's parents "for a couple of years" or "until they have a baby." After that, the couple may remain near the bride's family, or strike out alone, or, more commonly, return to live with the husband's family's band.

This temporary matrilocality among the Slave is, in fact, but the physical concomitant of the requirement for post-marital bride service.³ When the bride's parents belong to a different band, as they often do, the

¹ I am referring here to the classification of the Slave as matrilocal made by G. P. Murdock in his paper "North American Social Organization," by H. E. Driver in his paper "Economy, Residence and Descent in Aboriginal North America," and in their subsequent discussions—all presented at the fifty-first Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Philadelphia in December, 1952. Also, the Slave are called matrilocal in H. E. Driver and W. C. Massey, *Comparative Studies of North American Indians*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1957), XLVII, Part 2, 435. The source for this attribution is not given.

I can only surmise that this conclusion in all cases cited above may have been derived from Honigsmann, who, reporting on "the kinship system as it was *reported* [by his informant(s)] *to have functioned* in regulating kin behavior among the Fort Nelson Slave," says, "following marriage, residence was generally matrilocal, so that a husband entered a rather permanent alliance with his wife's family which enabled him to secure additional wives under the conditions of the sororate." *Fort Nelson Slave*, p. 69. Italics mine.

² Murdock, *Social Structure*, pp. 16-17.

³ Under Murdock's system of residence classification, the Slave would be most nearly exemplified by the "matrilocality" rule, ". . . consisting in requiring matrilocal residence for an initial period, usually for a year or until the birth of the first child, to be followed by permanent patrilocality residence" (*Ibid.*, p. 17). However, eventual permanent patrilocality residence among the Slave is common but not inevitable.

new husband must assume a matrilocal residence (in the bride's band) in order to fulfil the traditional obligation to contribute general physical aid and especially his hunting abilities toward the welfare of his wife's family for a period after marriage. (Probably for aboriginal times one can make no useful distinction between pre- and post-marital bride service, as it is likely that the marriage was not really established until pregnancy.)

It may be noted here that this temporary matrilocality spares the shy Slavey bride an abrupt removal into a band of strangers who, even if some of them are kinsmen, are people with whom she has had little contact. The girl is allowed a transition period in which to reorient her sentiments and activities from her family of orientation to her newly-established family of procreation with a minimum of emotional upset and sense of isolation.

A survey of the marriages of the young adult population at Lynx Point displays some of the variations of the system in operation:

Marcel Renard and Bill Yukon both joined their wives' parents upon marrying, stayed with them for well over a year, then brought their wives back to settle permanently at Lynx Point.

Karl and Henri Mink married girls whose mothers were widows. They immediately brought their mothers-in-law, as well as their wives, to Lynx Point to stay permanently.

Isadore Loche stayed with one or more other bands for several years, courting. When he did marry, it was to an orphan, and he brought her immediately to Lynx Point.

Lem Yukon, a Lynx Point man, married a girl native to Lynx Point.

Daniel Heriot and Zachary Ingram came to Lynx Point upon their marriages to girls of the community and have since settled permanently. Their brother-in-law, Marcel, states that "nobody know they were going to stay when they come."

The Use of Kinship Terms, Teknonymy, and the Extent of Acknowledgment of Kin Connections

At Lynx Point today, common use of kin terms in address or reference appears to be limited to primary relatives and grandparents, with the exception of the Lynx Point men standing in the relationship of maternal aunt's son to one another. They may address one another as "elder brother" or "younger brother." Actually, in day-to-day relations, the employment of any vocative is infrequent, except under conditions of intoxication.

In reference, many of the older inhabitants are commonly or typically designated through the use of teknonymy. An individual does not begin to be denoted teknonymously until his or her eldest child is "about fourteen," that is, entering adulthood. The parent is commonly designated by employing the name of his eldest living child, regardless of its sex, in conjunction with the "father" or "mother" term root. Thus a husband and wife, whose oldest child is named "Mary" will be *meri^m beta* and *meri emo* respectively. Classificatory or real brothers may alternatively refer to one another as *deko^m beta*, "my nephew's father."

Old people, when feeling jocular, may extend the terms *setča*, *setθue*, ("grandchild" or "son's wife") to any young persons. The terms for "my sweetheart," *setsia* (boy friend) and *setsu^{na}* (girl friend), appear to be the grandparent terms with the possessive prefix *s-* and the diminutive suffix *-a* added.

To pass from these extensions of kinship terminology of minor importance, the only extension of actual kin relationship to a non-relative is by adoption. Childless couples frequently seek to adopt a child. The two actual adoptions and one proposed adoption at Lynx Point illustrate modes and motives involved in the practice. The impetus toward adoption may come from the simple desire to have a child to care for and love, or it may be primarily from a wish for a household helper or from a mixture of both. In these instances, a close relative will commonly be asked to "give" a child to the childless couple. Thus ageing Isadore and his young wife were "given" his sister's twelve-year-old daughter; she now receives her support from her adopted parents and provides physical aid and companionship to the young wife. The girl's parents, however, have complained that the foster parents are working the child too hard.

Karl Mink has considered "giving" his second daughter, four years old, to his childless elder brother, Henri. Karl's thoughts and concerns ran as follows: the child and her older sister "fight too damn much"; at Henri's house she will be separated from her sister but still be very close by, and she is old enough now to be of use in Henri's household ("She can help with the dishing"). This adoption was proposed in the event that Henri and his wife were called upon to relinquish the baby adopted by them some nine months previously. The eleven-month-old girl was obtained, with the aid of the Catholic nursing sisters, from an unmarried girl confined to the Simpson hospital with tuberculosis. Henri and his wife, who knew the mother personally, take the baby to see her when they visit Simpson. Whether the mother will allow the child to stay permanently with its foster parents is still in doubt; no legal transactions have occurred.

The Christian institution of godparenthood has been introduced into Indian life, but there is no emphasis on it. The godparents are expected to give gifts occasionally to the godchild, even after the child is grown. The godchild has no responsibilities toward its godparents.

Closest and most secure kinties naturally are with those individuals who are primary relatives and those less close relatives with whom one has resided in the same settlement. Adults are cognizant, however, of very extended kinship affiliations. In a region as sparsely populated as the Slavey area, it is possible to know, or know of, all the individuals over an extended area and to know some of their lines of relationship. This sort of knowledge, on the part of most of the adults at Lynx Point, extends from Fort Providence and satellite settlements along the Mackenzie through Fort Simpson to bands located perhaps thirty or forty miles below Simpson, and also to a few isolated households a short distance up the Liard from Fort Simpson. To many of the people in this area, the average individual can trace some

affinal, if not consanguineal, line of relationship. The range in assignment of kin terms can be illustrated by one particular instance:

Karl volunteers that André Beauchamp, the blond *métis* river-boat pilot is his "father-in-law" (Karl means, by this English phrase, that Beauchamp is a "father" by marriage). Karl justifies the appellation by explaining that Beauchamp's present (second) wife is Joe Renard's mother's sister. Joe Renard's father is brother to Marcel Renard's biological father. Therefore Joe and Marcel are "brothers." Since Marcel's mother was sister to Karl's mother, Marcel and Karl are "brothers," thus Joe and Karl are also "brothers." Therefore, Joe's classificatory mother's husband is Karl's father-by-marriage.



Behavioural Expectations in Kinship

All bush bands are aggregates of kin-linked nuclear families so that, in a sense, any consideration of interpersonal relations within the band is a study of kinship behaviour. But, granted this base, it is the physical propinquity of the component individuals, the community, that allows the extent and complexity of interaction. The dynamics of the relations between two classificatory brothers or two brothers-in-law living side by side within a single small community are of quite a different order than those of the same kinsmen living forty miles apart.

For the present, we will consider only those more overt and traditionalized expectations and obligations of kinship that can be easily verbalized by the participants.¹ The more subtle and intricate patterns of behaviour that actually run through the family and the kin-community we will take up in a later section.

In regard to those relatives immediately beyond the individual's nuclear family, there are few formal requirements involved in the relationships. The general expectation is that one will, from time to time, render small services and gifts to these kinsmen.

Children, especially, are expected to be of aid to their grandparents, helping them with the snares, bringing water and firewood, and performing other household aids. "The Indians say," Cora Renard commented, "that if you help your grandparents you will live a long time." In return, grandparents bestow gifts upon grandchildren. For Old David, a widower living in the same house with his daughter and son-in-law and their children, his eldest grandchild, Beatrice, performs almost all the services of a wife—unloading his sled, feeding his dogs, preparing his meals, leading him home to bed when he becomes too intoxicated. His older grandson (aged eleven)

¹ Most of the material derived from formal questioning is from Cora Renard.

and step-grandsons often accompany the old man on short snaring or trapping trips. Old David is permissive and friendly toward his grandchildren, especially under mild intoxication when his customary reserve and silence drop aside. Then he is apt to give his grand-daughter Beatrice (twelve) and step-grand-daughter Noreen (thirteen) a few cups of his home brew and tease and play with them.¹

In the event of the death of the parents, it is the grandmother, either maternal or paternal, who is normally expected to take the orphaned children.

The father's brother is a "good friend" to his nieces and nephews. He also may give occasional gifts but is not required to do so. "If he had lots of money, he could buy clothes for them." The father's sister and the mother's siblings also follow this general pattern of friendliness and helpfulness. Children are expected to perform tasks for their aunts and uncles when called upon.

Since Lynx Point is almost entirely composed of young adults and their children, there was little opportunity to observe relations between adults and their aged aunts and uncles. Services by adult nieces and nephews for the two aged individuals (Old David and Old Denise), who could fill the aunt and uncle categories, were not apparent. The adult children and children-in-law, and the youthful grandchildren of these two aged persons appeared to perform any services that were accorded them and vice versa.

In practice, it also appeared that ordinarily an adult rarely calls upon a nephew or niece for services or aid; probably the major reason for the rareness of this event is that an adult's own children are usually available for such purposes. An exception was Beatrice's assignment to her mother's sister, Thérèse, for the first few weeks after Thérèse gave birth. If Thérèse had had a daughter old enough to be helpful, which she did not, Beatrice probably would not have been called upon to sleep at Thérèse's house, and to cook, tend the house, and perform other womanly chores for her aunt.

Toward one's immediate affinal relatives the pattern of small exchanges of gifts and aid also applies. It is toward the parents of one's spouse that expectations of assistance appear to be the most fully developed. Both before and after her marriage, the girl aids her mother-in-law with household tasks. In turn, the mother-in-law assists the girl, especially in that important task in which the older woman has greater skill—preparing moosehide. Gifts, such as moccasins, pass between them. The girl also may cook and sew for her father-in-law, both before and after marriage. "If they [the husband's parents] are so [very] old, the girl looks after them with everything—a drink of water, anything." The son-in-law behaves in like fashion, consonant with his male status. He gives presents to his parents-in-law-to-be, "just like he does to the girl," and before and after marriage he assists his father-in-law with the work.

¹ When Old David was intoxicated, the ethnologists appeared to fall into the grand-daughter category as well. He frequently sent us a few cups of brew via Beatrice, and his manner would become teasing and pseudo-flirtatious, especially toward Carterette, whom he teasingly addressed under these conditions as *etqua* (non-possessive "grand-daughter" or "son's wife").

Toward all relatives, consanguineal and affinal, one feels friendly and does not feel "shy." In formal interview, it was denied that there are any respect or avoidance usages, or that there are any standardized joking relationships. Observations supported these statements, with the possible exception that Old David's drunken interplay with his grand-daughters may reflect a cultural pattern. As regards parents-in-law, no avoidance or special respect relations could be discerned—at Lynx Point, individuals were observed living, eating, working, and getting drunk with their parents-in-law. It may here be noted, however, that adult interpersonal behaviour in general, except when drunk, is restrained, subdued, and seemingly somewhat self-conscious, so that, in a sense, adult Slaveys appear by White standards to be indulging in respect relations much of the time. The only positive statement obtained regarding respect usages was one man's comment that it is "bad luck" to swear in the presence of one's brother-in-law (in any event, swearing normally occurs only when drinking).

THE NUCLEAR FAMILY AND THE HOUSEHOLD

The nuclear family, "a married man and woman and their offspring,"¹ customarily comprise the household. Occasionally, one or more parents of the married couple are included in the domestic unit.

Marriage

The first step in the forming of a new family and household is, of course, the marriage union of the couple. The choice of a sweetheart or future marriage partner and the courtship are in the hands of the young people themselves. Sometimes, regarding the decision to marry, one or both of the respective families of the young persons may express opinions or exert pressure.

Men very seldom marry before the age of twenty and often are twenty-five or thirty before they take a wife. Marriage carries with it an economic responsibility and discipline that deter many men from early marriage, and some speak regretfully of the carefree days before they assumed the burden of a family. Girls are usually married by the age of twenty, and some are wed as early as fifteen.²

Parents do not worry about their sons having sexual adventures. Girls are not supposed to indulge in pre-marital relations, but supervision of teen-aged girls appears to be scant, and the girls not infrequently do have sexual experiences. Often it is a pregnancy that brings about a marriage. Out of seven of the younger married women of Lynx Point, four are known to have married because of this condition. Except in the instance of the affair between parallel cousins, the man responsible for the pregnancy became the

¹ Murdock, *Social Structure*, p. 1.

² Church and civic authorities may attempt to prevent such early marriages. Having gotten his sweetheart pregnant, Karl explains that he had to take her to Fort Simpson to be married, because the priest at her home community, Providence, refused to marry them because she was only fifteen.

husband. It is at such times that pressures from the parents and older kindred may be brought to bear. (Petitot, describing a pertinent episode among the Willow Lake Slaves, speaks of "an ancient honorable custom among the Déné that any young man who has seduced a young woman still virgin is strictly held to marrying her, under pain of dishonor in the eyes of the tribe."¹ I suspect that it was not the loss of virginity but pregnancy that was the deciding factor.)

Today, first marriages are solemnized and legalized by a church ceremony at the nearest fort. A feast and dance may follow. Separation or "divorce" (extra-legal) is infrequent; the only instances recorded for Lynx Point were ones that occurred several decades in the past (*See* the earlier section on the history of Lynx Point). Second marriages, brought about either through "divorce" or death of the first spouse are, typically, common-law. It is considered poor taste, or worse, to remarry too soon after the death of a spouse. Sorrowful brooding may continue some months after the loss. Women express their grief from time to time in a stylized wailing. On several occasions some months after the death of Old Yukon, his widow's cries of lament rang through the village.

We have seen that, because of the custom of post-marital bride service, the young couple do not establish a separate permanent residence for at least a year. After leaving the girl's parents' home, they may live in the house of the boy's parents for several years until the requisite money, time, and energy can produce a separate dwelling for them. Or, alternatively, the couple may live the year-round in a tent until their own house is built or until they inherit one. By the time a young couple do have their own permanent dwelling, they usually have one or more children.

Property and Inheritance

Since private property and inheritance involve primarily the nuclear family, these topics may be considered at this point. Within the nuclear family, almost all property is individually owned. The house and some of its major appurtenances might be considered the joint property of husband and wife, were there need to assign ownership, which there is not, as the surviving spouse automatically has possession. Smaller movable objects are usually understood to belong to one person or another within the family, although all members in most cases freely use all objects. The toboggan, most of the dogs, the canoes, most of the axes and hatchets, most of the traps, and so on, are the husband's. But the wife, besides such womanly possessions as her sewing machine and sewing kit, may own such things as a set of small-animal traps, a .22 rifle.

That person who consistently uses an object owns it, at least in the sense that he has the "say-so" over its disposition. A woman's cooking utensils are understood to be hers, even though it is the husband who paid

¹ Emile Petitot, *Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves* (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Parisienne, 1891), p. 325 (My translation).

for them. The brew pot, on the other hand, is bought for the benefit of the husband, and therefore belongs to him as does its contents, if he has paid for the ingredients. A wife who wants to make brew for herself and her friends not only must pay for her own ingredients but must request the loan of the pot from her husband (that being contingent on whether the husband plans to use it). To be able to make brew whenever she wants to, a wife must own her own pot. Each child likewise has his own possessions—his clothes, his toys, a knife, or a doll. Every child in the first or second year of its life is given a puppy, and although the father may use the dog, when grown, in his team, it still remains the property of the child. The father, for example, may sell it only with the child's permission, and the money from the sale should go to the child or for his welfare. The other possessions of the child similarly may not be disposed of without his consent.

Inheritance is by the spouse or the children and informally adheres to the criteria of need and appropriateness. Upon a mate's death, the surviving spouse inherits any of the deceased's possessions that he or she has use for. The rest are distributed among the children. Thus, a widow, if not enfeebled, inherits and uses (with the aid of her unmarried children) her husband's team and toboggan, nets, canoe, and so forth. In a sense these objects are inherited by the surviving family as a whole, but, for example, a youth marrying and leaving his mother's house would have no right to claim his deceased father's canoe if it was of use to his mother. An individual may, if he wishes, make the bequest of certain items to certain survivors. He is likely to do this with his rifle for magical reasons (*see later section*).

Relations Within the Nuclear Family

Husband and wife.—The roles and relations of husband and wife are, in gross outline, the same for every couple. The husband by his labour provides most of the food, clothing, and shelter, either directly or by earning money toward these ends. It is the woman's task to preserve and process the materials of living provided by the husband, and, of course, the early and basic care and training of the children are primarily in her hands.

The sentiments of the society, however, do not rigidify this division of labour between the sexes. If circumstances warrant, women may hunt small game, fell trees, or drive dog-sleds. Conversely, when a man is not otherwise occupied, he often aids his wife in many of the household tasks—fetching water, preparing the baby's bottle or the family's breakfast—that are ordinarily her province. Before the birth of children render such activities impracticable, women often accompany their husbands on hunting trips and on the trap-line.

Day-to-day relations between husband and wife are fairly egalitarian. When a woman proffers advice to her husband or expresses a desire, it is commonly heeded. Women, however, do not appear to make many demands. Wives are never physically mistreated, except in rare instances of drunken aggression. Indeed, there is no evidence that sustained quarrelling ever

occurs when husband and wife are sober. The general tenor of behaviour does, however, suggest that the woman is conceded to be the secondary partner in the marital relationship. In regard to all items provided by money, the husband has control. Except when a woman comes into some small funds of her own (by trapping squirrels, for example, or selling a pair of moccasins at the fort), she is largely dependent upon her husband's largesse in such matters as clothes, tobacco, and brew. Men are more elegantly dressed than women and indulge more frequently in luxuries, such as tobacco. Women generally enact a role of indulgent service toward their husbands in much the same way that they do toward their children. This trait is especially noticeable in the protective, cajoling patience displayed when the men are drinking.

The particular personalities involved in each marriage partnership at Lynx Point do, of course, influence the enactment of the general cultural tendencies and expectations. Marcel Renard, for example, appeared to be more patriarchal in his family relations than most of the other men. Although he acquiesced in his wife's occasional desires regarding minor matters, in the realm of finances, especially expenditures on clothing, toys, and other items of interest to women and children, he was little influenced by the importunities of his family. Still, when his wife on one occasion subverted his wishes by secretly ordering new dresses for their eldest daughter from the mail-order house, Marcel paid for the parcel when it arrived. Daniel Heriot, on the other hand, was recognized to be the "weak sister" of his marital team. The managerial protection coupled with fond indulgence that his hearty, extroverted wife accorded him was of the same tenor of behaviour that she displayed toward her small male children. The relationship between Karl and his wife, Nelly May, fell between the two poles just cited. Nelly May ordinarily indulged and admired her husband, but she expected a certain standard of behaviour from him, as, for example, in regard to household tasks. She was capable of anger when Karl misbehaved, and Karl on at least one occasion atoned for a lapse in proper conduct by cleaning the house and preparing his wife's breakfast before she arose.

Emotional attachment to one's spouse typically appears to be strong. We have noted previously the grief and loneliness that often come with the death of a mate. Spouses, however, do not indulge in demonstrative affection toward one another, at least not in the presence of others. The characteristic mask of impassivity and diffidence is maintained in husband-wife interaction, just as it is in most interpersonal relations. Thus, Cora explained, "When always dance [together] husband and wife, people say 'jealous of one another.' That's why don't dance [together] . . . they don't like that [said about them]."

Parent-child relations.—It is useful in this instance to view parent-child relations from two aspects—social-emotional and economic. The baby is the centre of emotional focus in the household. The mother, father, and older siblings give it much attention and affection. The baby is a sort of household pet-cum-entertainment device. Household members of all ages

play with the baby, kiss and fondle him. The immediate response to the fussing of an infant is to offer it the breast, the bottle, or other food tokens. The baby is watched carefully, with the mother or an older sibling in attendance at all times. In the first months of life, the infant spends part of the time in his moss-bag, a swaddling envelope made of black cloth and packed with moss, into which the baby is laced. If the mother takes the baby out of the dwelling, he rides on her back held by a shawl, the ends of which cross the mother's chest and tie at her back. The toddler may continue to ride frequently in the shawl if there is no younger child to take its place. A fussy child who can be pacified in no other way may be "walked" in the shawl.

The baby is encouraged in its physiological development—to walk, to babble, and at a somewhat later stage to perform "cute" acts such as winking. The teaching of a baby to strike others, persons and dogs, is one of the more common forms of amusement within the household.

Between the ages of two and four, many children experience displacement by a new infant. The toddler at this age is still given some attention, but his affectional position in the household is definitely secondary to that of the new arrival. The toddler, though still fed on demand, must step aside for the baby who now has first place in the mother's attention and at her breast. The toddler is weaned at this time, being given pieces of bannock or bits of dried milk to pacify him. The alienation from the mother is accomplished by handing the child over to the supervision of an older sibling. Here the child may be exposed to capricious treatment, teasing and frightening the toddler alternating with affectionate hugs and kisses. The older sibling, if a sister of around ten or twelve, is left pretty much in complete control. Noreen took to her duties to her little sibling in a much more kindly and maturely responsible fashion than did her age-mate cousin, Beatrice. The three- or four-year-old may scream with fright or anger in the mother's presence, but the mother is apt to ignore the display, and it is up to the older sibling to handle the situation if she wishes, or to ignore it.

As soon as the child is able to walk steadily, small tasks are often assigned—for a little girl, for example, bringing tiny pails of water from the river, for a boy, bringing a stick or two of firewood. The child is admired and praised for this behaviour. All through the childhood and early adolescence of an individual, praise and attention are given to any new development along lines of physical and economic ability.

By the age of five or six, the child's affectual relations with the parents have been significantly blocked. No longer is petting or physical affection commonly expressed by the parents. In fact, for the most part of the day the child is ignored by them. The older sister is largely relieved of her supervision of the child. He is pretty much on his own now. The child now directs, perforce, most of his contacts and affect toward his peers, not necessarily those within the nuclear family, but to kinsmen who are age-mates from other families in the community. The parents' expectations regarding work contributions from the children grow year by year. The parents attempt to

enforce these expectations by nagging; physical punishment is very rare. The child not infrequently attempts to evade these expectations by hiding, begging, or fussing. By ten years, the child's work contributions are considerable, helping the mother about the household, chopping wood, making bannock, bringing water, feeding the dogs. Both sexes are usually expected to perform, and do perform all these tasks.

From about ten years on, a financial contribution begins. Boys and girls set out small snares and traps for squirrels and weasels. At about fourteen the boys are participating, usually with their fathers, on the regular trap-line and in the spring hunt. "Financial contribution" is perhaps a misnomer. The child spends the money he earns upon himself. In some families supervision is exercised as to its use. For example, in the Renard family a certain percentage of the money of the ten-year-old boy was spent on clothes, even though the child wanted to buy toys with the money. Other families, however, such as the Heriots, give almost total freedom to their children's choice in their expenditures. As a result, Beatrice and Robert indulged themselves in toys, fancy impractical clothes, and the like. Even in the middle 'teens, when a boy is making a fair amount of money from his trapping, that money continues to be spent upon the boy himself. For example, Harry Yukon, aged fourteen, on the proceeds of his first real fur earnings, blossomed out in a cowboy shirt and hat, and a set of cap pistols costing \$7. His older half-brother Arnie, twenty, appeared to contribute nothing to the household of his impoverished widowed mother but spent all his money on clothes, gadgets, and alcohol.

Characteristically then, there is little or no assumption of financial responsibility toward the family of orientation. However, for the individual who has not yet set up his own family of procreation, his subsistence activities in hunting and snaring do go into the family larder. Even when a male is physiologically fully adult, it appears that only if his parents are incapacitated is he expected to contribute much financial aid to them, even though they may be in a relatively underprivileged economic condition. The men frequently tell of the wild and foolish spending sprees in which they indulged as young unmarried adults in their late 'teens and early twenties. It is only with marriage and the establishment of one's own family of procreation that financial responsibility is faced. At marriage one member of the new pair is often separated by physical distance from his or her parents, so that it becomes impossible to make any further substantial labour, financial, or subsistence contribution to that family. The main energies in any case are always directed toward one's own new family.

From late adolescence on, the offspring is "his own boss," financially and also, on the whole, in terms of general behaviour. Parents, if they are so inclined, may continue to scold, as Old Denise Mink scolded her boys. But society grants them no real power over the physically-matured child. Old age in itself brings no prestige or status in Slavey society, unless it is coupled with especial wisdom or some special technical ability that trans-

cends age limitations. As physical powers decline, the parent must almost of necessity sink into an unwelcome dependence upon the offspring, unwelcome both to the parent and to the burdened child. Thus we have Marcel expressing his fears of decline of physical power, when the main channels of prestige and influence—his physical skills and productivity—will then be lost to him. It is only the particular emotional attachment between adult child and parent that holds the relationship together. Society, beyond this expectation, does not expect the child after physical maturity to operate in any sense in a subservient role to his parents. Indeed, the obverse, the physically-declining parent subsiding to a secondary position in relation to the more physically-able child, is the more common expectation.¹

Relations between siblings.—In the unstructured society of Lynx Point there is no rating, ranking, or formal social requirement between siblings in terms of age, sex, or other status. Consequently, on the whole it is difficult for the Euro-American eye to distinguish any really unusual features in relations between siblings. In childhood there are several areas of potential resentment between siblings. First, there is the possible consequence of the supplanting of the child by the new baby—the younger sibling—in the mother's attention and affection. Also there is the common situation of the older, usually female, sibling serving as nurse over the younger child. Dual resentments may arise here, on the part of the younger child toward the older sibling and on the part of the older child who resents the hours of attention that she must give to the younger one when she would prefer to be playing with her age-mates. On the other hand, little girls often obviously enjoy caring for an infant sibling. From the age of five or six, small sisters are allowed to "pack" the baby in a shawl, a role they assume with pride and pleasure.

Regarding same-sex siblings, often there is enough of an age gap between the siblings in the same family so that they are more naturally drawn, for playmates and pals, to age-mates of the same sex outside the nuclear family, chosen from kinsmen within the community. However, a pair of brothers or sisters from the same family may pal together, often the younger following the older in most activities. After about the age of six years, sib-

¹ The Canadian federal old age pension, just instituted at the time of the field work, has significantly altered the often unhappy social role of the aged. Since the elderly person (at seventy or older) now brings in fifty-five dollars a month to the household, his presence has become a financial boon instead of an economic burden. The only time I can recall the dour face of Karl Mink breaking into a broad grin while dead sober occurred in 1955, on a brief return visit to the Simpson area. Karl came to my tent to pay a social call. After a few minutes of the usual desultory conversation, carried mostly by me, Karl, apropos of nothing, suddenly produced a great, beaming smile and said, "Nelly May's mother got old age pension now!" Although his wife's mother is an extremely useful member of the household—hunting, trapping, and snaring, as well as performing household tasks—Karl always viewed her as a financial burden. I do not doubt, given her characteristic affection and generosity, that the old woman spends most of her pension money on Karl and Nelly May's children, her grandchildren, so she is indeed an economic asset now. Douglas Wilkinson, Canadian Northern Service Officer, reports similar alterations in youth-age relationships among the Canadian Eskimo (pers. comm.).

lings of the opposite sex indulge in considerably less play and interaction than do siblings of the same sex. They do not "pal around" together, and by puberty their main lines of association are well established within their own sex.

Adult siblings of the opposite sex evince very little direct interaction except in terms of simple requests and replies. It is much more characteristic that the sibling will form a friendly association with the spouse of the sibling of the opposite sex, e.g., sisters-in-law becoming friendly with each other. Among same-sex siblings, there is at Lynx Point at least one instance of very close association, that between Thérèse and Liza (*née* Mink). Here perhaps at least part of the reason is that Thérèse is an introversive type who has few friendships. On the other hand, Liza, more gregarious and extroversive, is a very good friend of her brother's wife, Cora Renard. On the whole, however, looking at the extended core family of Lynx Point, including Minks, Renards, and Loches, it cannot be said that the biological sibling is characteristically chosen for the closest association over all others. One of the firmest bonds at Lynx Point is between Marcel and Karl, who are parallel cousins.

As between parent and adult child, siblings of the same or opposite sex will exchange food gifts between their families, and mutual aid between same-sex siblings in tasks, such as, for women, moosehide preparation, or, for men, usually house-building; but these modes of interaction are also extended beyond the nuclear family to other kinsmen of the community. We can only say that perhaps these expectations and quasi-obligations are more frequent between siblings than between more extended kinsmen. Again, as in so many aspects of Slavey social life, there is a general social expectation that there will be contact and mutual aid between siblings, but there is no formalization in these matters.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

At Lynx Point, all household or family units carry out the same tasks and economic pursuits. The major division of labour, predicated on sex and age differences, is in itself a component of the family structure. We have already seen the roles that the man, his wife, and their children play in the economy of the family household. The nuclear family can effectively operate as a self-sufficient economic unit independent of any larger Indian group, for the Indian community *per se* offers no services that the members of most individual families cannot provide for themselves. A few families in the surrounding region do, in point of fact, live most or all of the year physically isolated by a score or more of miles from the nearest neighbours. It is White society that provides the services and goods that the Indian family cannot produce for itself, not the Indian community. Community living, however, is the typical mode of life—even though the community sometimes is composed of only two or three nuclear families.

Socio-Economic Relations Between Individuals of Different Nuclear Families

Within the community of Lynx Point, during the performance of tasks of livelihood, certain modes of interaction obtain between individuals of different nuclear families. In many instances one can descry possible "practical" benefits in the form of greater efficiency or security resulting from these usages. However, the sentiments stemming from kin and personal affiliations and from the urge toward sociability and companionship and toward social approval, customarily enter into these relationships as well. They are economic relations of a very different sort from that between the trapper and the fur trader. The two types of relationships correspond only in that in both instances the pursuit of livelihood impinges directly or indirectly upon the relationship. Economic relations within the community are those of a status economy; those with the White world are of a market economy.

The partnership.—The only standardized socio-economic relationship between two or more individuals (except for the husband-wife team) is the trapping partnership. The partners, usually a pair, are commonly related by blood or marriage (*See Table 5*). Partnerships of real brothers are frequent.

TABLE 5

KINSHIP STATUSES OF PARTNERS AT LYNX POINT

Name	Kinship Status
1. Marcel Renard and Karl Mink.....	Classificatory brothers (mother's sister's sons)
2. Bill and Lem Yukon.....	Brothers
3. Henri and Ozzie Mink, and Arnie Tucho.....	Henri and Ozzie, brothers; Arnie, brother of Henri's wife
4. Daniel Heriot and Zachary Ingram, plus (occasionally) Old David.....	Brothers-in-law, married to sisters Their wives' father
5. Isadore Loche.....	Mainly traps alone, with wife as companion

The partnership is the only institutionalized relationship that may obtain between men outside the ties of kin. The term "partner," in the Indian's vocabulary, may be extended to designate a close, good friend outside the kindred.¹ This usage suggests the closeness and intimacy which real partners customarily feel.

There is no division of labour within the partnership, except in so far as one man's special capacities may consistently be called into play. If there is a great disparity in age, for example, the younger and stronger of the team will probably always assume most of the task of breaking trail. The primary

¹ The English term "friend" itself appears to have usually a romantic or sexual connotation. It is used mainly in the phrases "boy friend" and "girl friend."

practical advantages of working with a partner rather than alone are the simple mutual aids that are then possible, such as setting up camp together, aiding one another's sleds over steep terrain, spelling one another in trail-breaking, and so forth. Each man has his own set of equipment, from dogs, sled, and traps, down to eating utensils. For lengthy periods on the trail, one of the partners may contribute a tent or a stove, or both, to be used jointly. Any decisions, such as when to depart for the line, are reached by mutual discussion and agreement.

A man may have a short separate trap-line or one branching off from the main line, which he ordinarily tends alone. But he travels the major line with his partner. Along this line, the partners commonly alternate their traps—first one man's trap, then the other's. Occasionally, one member of a partnership will tend the joint line alone. In these instances, only the furs caught in his own traps are his; those collected from his partner's traps belong to the partner. He will reset his partner's traps also. A fur animal always belongs to the owner of the trap that caught it, unless a man is poaching on another's trapping area, in which case the abused party, if he discovers the traps, will confiscate the furs. There had been some friction with a member of a neighbouring community on this point. (The neighbour, who accused Marcel of poaching and lifted his furs, is Joe Renard, parallel cousin [FaBrSo] to Marcel.) Between members of the Lynx Point community, the only disagreement along this line that came to light was the news, via the children, that Old David was "mad" and had directed drunken anger at his stepson, Marcel, because Marcel had shot two beaver at lodges which the old man felt "belonged" to him. (Marcel had already given one of the beaver to the old man.)

Despite Old David's attitude (and the reports of earlier writers¹ that beaver lodges were privately owned in one or more of the Northern Athapaskan groups), the two Lynx Point informants questioned on the matter denied that any beaver lodges within the area were privately possessed by anyone. However, Marcel's qualifying statement that "you tell everybody where you are going to hunt [beaver], anyway," suggests that some individuals (such as Old David) may presume themselves to have exclusive rights to certain lodges, and that a beforehand announcement may thus serve to avoid unpleasantness. Apparently Marcel either inadvertently or deliberately ignored this precaution with Old David.

Joint activities and casual aid.—Many economic pursuits are carried out with a companion. Typically, however, each individual pursues private ends in the enterprise. Fishing and small game hunting expeditions by two or more men exemplify this situation. There may be a pooling of equipment for the purpose, one man supplying the canoe and another the "kicker," for example, and all personnel involved may "go shares" on the gasoline for the motor.

¹Poole Field, unpublished letters in the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa. Also, George Keith, "Letters to Mr. Roderic McKenzie, 1807-1817," *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, ed. L. F. R. Masson (Québec: A. Côté et Cie., 1889-1890), II, 69.

To each participant, however, belongs the game taken by him personally. The berrying, moss-gathering, and spruce-bough expeditions of the women operate in the same way.

Although wood cutting and gathering in the winter is an intra-household matter, in the summer representatives from two households, often older boys, may gather driftwood for firewood by canoe. The logs collected are dumped in a single pile on the beach and drawn upon by both households as needed. In this instance, then, consumption as well as activity is joint.

Many of the casual economic interactions between individuals of different households are in the form of aid by one individual to another. The closeness of the kin relation and the physical contiguity in large part influence who gives or receives aid. These inter-aid patterns within the community correspond in intensity to the chain or trend of social relationships between households, as illustrated in an earlier section.

One may give one's own labour to another. In the arduous task of moosehide preparation a woman is often helped by another; the aid will commonly be reciprocated at a later time. If one man is absent or incapacitated, his brother may come to the assistance of the family in such chores as tending the snares and gill nets, feeding the dogs, and supplying firewood. There are no standardized forms of aid of this sort between individuals. The two considerations seem merely to be how badly the other needs help and the amount of free time and energy the helper has. The aid pattern in housebuilding exemplifies this. A man expects that some aid will be forthcoming from other individuals, but there are no defined times and kinds of aid. Others help when "they got nothing else to do." Karl worked, off and on, on the foundations of a new log house for his family during the summer of 1952. The only individual who contributed substantial and consistent aid was his younger brother, Ozzie. Ozzie, being unmarried, had, in point of fact, fewer time-consuming duties than did other men.

Gifts are another form of aid, but they do not bulk large. One household may occasionally send a gift of seasonal food to another which does not have a supply. Beaver meat is commonly distributed in this fashion. A household whose trapper has just returned from a beaver hunt will send some of its plentiful supply to one or more families whose hunters are still out. Upon the latter's return, the favour may be reciprocated. A woman may make the helpful gesture of giving a load of spruce boughs to another. A partner or close relative may give a pelt, marten or beaver perhaps, to a man who had had poor luck in trapping that animal.

The most frequent form of aid comes as the result of a request. Borrowing is continual. Isolation from the trading post, lack of funds, poor planning, and the vagaries of the hunt all contribute to this. Food is often borrowed. Once in a while there are requests for wild game—a rabbit or two, a couple of fish. Store products, such as flour, tea, lard, sugar, tobacco, brew makings, are more frequently borrowed, however. Households are always running short of one thing or another in this line. Household items such as soap, candles, and gas-lamp mantles are in the same category. Between certain households,

such equipment as saws, brooms, and scrub-brushes are constantly being passed back and forth. Men borrow rifles from one another, shells, hip boots, canoes, "kickers," sleds, and dogs. In short, one borrows anything that is needed and available. Harry Yukon, a fourteen-year-old boy, could not understand why we refused him tobacco on the grounds that we must conserve our scarce supply to make it last until we could obtain more from the fort. "Use it all up fast, then borrow," he counselled.

With close relatives or good friends, requests may be quick, casual, and direct, especially if the desired item is a minor one. If one desires to use a common implement, such as a saw or axe, for but a short time, the item may simply be used and returned and nothing said. The more formal approach is for the borrower to first fulfil the standard visiting etiquette of silently seating himself in the other's house, and, after a few minutes, perhaps proffering a few bits of chit-chat. Then the borrower may make a direct request for the desired item, or, very often, he will merely mention that he caught only two rabbits in his snares today, or that his tobacco pouch is empty, or that he will be handicapped in the beaver hunt without a watch to time the beavers' periods of emergence from their lodges. Confronted with this latter approach, the borrowee will then either offer the food, tobacco, watch, or what-have-you, or, if he does not desire to lend the item, simply let the borrower's statement pass by without comment. A borrower should not become angry at either a direct or oblique refusal, says Cora Renard.

The mode of repayment varies according to the item borrowed. Borrowed equipment, of course, is merely returned. If the item is a valuable one, a small food gift may be sent by the borrower. If an expensive item, such as an outboard motor, is broken during its use by the borrower, he is expected to pay for it or make any necessary repairs. Money, and usually gasoline also, is repaid in kind (without interest). Other forms of consumable goods, however, are not. The borrower may, without allusion to the previous borrowing, render a small service or gift, such as food, in repayment. More commonly, however, the borrower never makes purposeful repayment of any sort. The expectation, on the part of both the borrower and the lender, is that the lender will now borrow from the former when a need arises.

This unstructured system is open to abuse by "spongers." At Lynx Point, at least one family, the Heriots, appeared to consistently get more than it gave, at least from the ethnologists, but most households maintained a rough balance between giving and receiving. Children, however, "mooched" food and tobacco from whomever they considered to be an easy mark. The sanctions in regard to borrowing and lending operate mostly to the benefit of the borrower. Generosity is an admirable trait, and one who is consistently reluctant to give is apt to be assigned the unpleasant epithet "stingy." On the other hand, no one was ever heard to complain that another individual was a "sponger," even when the ethnologists angled for such a statement, presumably because such an accusation would reflect upon the generosity of the accuser. Occasionally, an individual can evade lending consumables by pretending to be out of the item requested. He may do this in direct response

to a request, or he may forestall possible requests by dropping comments as to his meagre supply. These devices are most often employed in the defence of one's brew supply. It is in regard to brew that both requests and refusals reach an apogee of slyness and intricacy.

In the bush, anyone is free to take meat from another man's cache if he has need of food.¹ Marcel is bitter and critical toward members of a neighbouring village for what he considers to be their propensities to cheat and steal. But when he commented that it looked as if they had taken meat from his trap-line cache and I voiced disapproval, he explained that they were quite within their rights. Likewise, there is no resentment if a passerby lifts a fish or two from another's gill net.

Stealing by adults, with the possible exception of occasional fur poaching on another band's fur area, is exceedingly rare between Indians. Earlier writers on the Slave stress the extreme honesty of these Indians in regard to property.² Two or three instances of theft by (non-Lynx Point) Indians, at the fort, of United States Army material during World War II and of Hudson's Bay goods were recounted by informants. Children frequently steal food, tobacco, and drink from their own or other family larders. This is not considered very reprehensible and, in fact, is usually greeted with equanimity. Although the stealing of the ethnologists' food by children became chronic, only two non-comestible items were ever missed—a roll of transparent tape and a compact. The latter was returned by an elder sibling of the offender (an eight-year-old girl) when a complaint was made at large to the children. The moral distinction between the taking of personal property as against food is very clear.

Economic Relations Between the Individual and the Communal Body

The bush Slave maintain the traditional obligation of the hunter to distribute his take of large game—moose, caribou, and bear—among all the households of the community. Since moose are the major big game, the following description of the sequence of activities after a kill is in terms of that animal.

A moose is usually hunted by either one or two men. In any event, the firer of the fatal bullet is accounted the owner of the meat. A fire is built

¹ See also the quote in the following footnote.

² "Ils ignorent le vol . . . C'est précisément ce grand fond d'honnêteté qui les rends quêteurs, puisillanimes et serviles." Émile Petitot, *Monographie des Déné-Dindjie* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1876), p. 30. Keith states, "these Indians are very honest with regard to property, and are extremely particular respecting their hunting regulations." *Op. cit.*, p. 69. Ross says "the Slaves are tolerably honest. . . . Among all the branches of the eastern division, there is no law to punish theft further than restoration They do not, however, steal much among themselves. The taking of provisions from 'caches' in times of scarcity is reckoned perfectly lawful, but only the direst extremity will cause them to plunder those of the Hudson's Bay Company." B. R. Ross, "The Eastern Tinné," *Annual Reports to the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1866), p. 307.

upon the site of the kill, and the hunter and any companions present immediately skin and butcher the animal. The moose head is set to cook upon the fire and is eaten on the spot by the men. Most of the meat is cached after butchering, and at least one man, carrying a few pieces of meat in his sled, returns to the village to notify the rest of the community of the fresh meat. Most of the men and dog-sleds available then shortly set out for the site of the cache. Because of the size of a moose, several dog teams are required to bring all the meat back to the village in one trip.

Upon reaching the cache, all the men feast on the meat, then pack the remainder into their sleds and return to Lynx Point. At the village, the sleds draw up before the house of the killer. They unload the meat, and the slayer begins distribution of the pieces. The decision as to who gets what pieces rests with the hunter who slew the animal. Neither the killer nor his relatives or companions are assigned any special pieces of meat by virtue of holding these statuses. It is not customary for adults to gather, except those men who, as transporters of the meat, are already present. But the children crowd about, and they and the men present receive pieces of meat from the hunter to take to their homes.

The hide is given by the hunter to the woman known to be most in need of it. It is understood that it goes to the woman personally, rather than to her husband or her family. Only one instance was noted where the wife of the killer received the hide. This woman stated that she received it simply because no other woman wanted it. (It was summer, and any recipient had to be prepared to begin work on it at once, as the hide was rotting.) Bear hides are discarded in the bush as they are put to no use.¹

On several occasions in earlier years, the neighbouring community of Bear Creek, whose members are related to those of Lynx Point through Marcel Renard and his biological father, had been given one or more sled-loads of meat by the Lynx Point people after sending word that the community was without food.

Besides the distribution of large game food, several other practices occur at Lynx Point wherein the individual's effort is for the welfare of the community as a whole. With one probable exception, however, these activities are not of aboriginal tradition but are new developments (post-World War II) in response to new exploitative opportunities stemming from the White contact situation. They comprise the unusual series of events, centring around the power-boat and barge, that I have termed the "Lynx Point Venture," and treatment of them is reserved for Chapter IV. The exception: during those times in summer when the men of the community have job opportunities away from Lynx Point, one or two usually remain behind and, besides hunting large game to feed the women and children, assume the responsibility of tending the gill nets of all households. No doubt this sort of service for the group had an aboriginal counterpart.

¹ Second-hand information from the Dogrib area suggests there may be magical anxieties involved in the non-use of bear skins, but I have no direct evidence for this at Lynx Point.

Property holding, as pointed out earlier, is individual and passes within the nuclear family. The one exception noted (excepting the capital goods of the Venture, mainly power-boat and barge) was the one-time joint ownership of an outboard motor—an expensive item—by two brothers, Karl and Ozzie Mink.

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

Those relations between individuals arising from marital status, the family, the kindred, and the traditional economic life have been presented in the foregoing chapters. Present at Lynx Point, however, are certain kinds of social interaction and behaviour in which the foregoing status relations play a secondary role.

After a consideration of the behavioural norms observed in social intercourse, we will consider those types of personal interaction that may be characterized as largely "sociable" in nature and will conclude with a survey of modes of social control.

Behavioural Norms in Social Interaction

The Slavey, and I am here speaking primarily of adults, have a style of behaviour in interpersonal contacts that quickly impresses the Euro-American observer. Perhaps the single adjective that best characterizes this style is *diffident*. Social "manners" practised in bush Slavey society suggest this quality. In most types of contact, manners are manifested only in a negative sense, that is, in the *lack* of special recognition accorded an individual or a situation.¹ With one exception, the bush Slavey employ no verbal or gestural signs of welcome, of salutation in passing, or of farewell.² This is even the case outside their own community. When travelling on the river or walking on the road in Fort Simpson, acquaintances pass one another by, silently and without an overt acknowledgment. A visitor to a house is ordinarily accorded no acknowledgment upon arrival; in turn, he does not proffer any, nor does he knock or in any way indicate his presence before entering a dwelling. Only after a few minutes have elapsed does a desultory conversation begin. If the visitor comes from afar and if he has some importance and standing for the members of the household, such as a seldom-seen elder relative, there may be a formal round of handshaking and a chair offered him. Upon departure, visitors, even in the latter category, customarily simply rise and depart silently, though Cora says the handshake may be employed at this time. No offer of food or non-alcoholic drink is made to a visitor; if the host esteems his visitor and happens to have some brew made, he may proffer this to his guest, but there is nothing obligatory about it.

It is in the relation between guest and host at the brew party, to be discussed later, that the most positive and formal code of manners exists.

¹ This discussion is focused on the Lynx Point people and other "bush Indians" with whom I am familiar. More acculturated Indians, such as those working in Fort Simpson, are apt to employ social techniques similar to those of Euro-Americans.

² Some individuals know of the usage of *bon jour* (pronounced *bon jo'*), but we noted its actual use on only one occasion by a grandmother from the Providence region.

Except in the brew party situation, the one positive expression of polite social recognition that is common is the use of the French *merci* (usually pronounced *masi*) in response to gifts.

In conversation, the sober adult Slavey is typically soft-spoken and deliberate. To the observer, adults in conversational interaction appear to be matter-of-fact and restrained. Occasional levity may be introduced—an account of an amusing action on the part of a child, or a pun—to be met with a smile or a chuckle. Hearty and unrestrained laughter is common only among drunks and children. With strangers, most Slavey make no attempt to converse at all, and even between close friends long silences, interspersed with occasional short statements, are the rule. Social chit-chat, as an expected polite and easy art, does not exist.¹

Certain behavioural norms suggest that, in part, the general diffidence and restraint exhibited in interpersonal contacts spring from a fear of conflict or unpleasantness.

First, minding one's own business is a cardinal principle in Slavey life. Precepts, aid, or warnings are seldom volunteered to others. Even one's children, as we have seen above, are allowed, to a great extent, to govern their own lives. One almost never interferes with another's children, even though they may be endangering themselves or destroying property. About the only exceptions observed were a few instances when the Mink sisters, Thérèse and Liza, reprimanded one another's children. Marcel, although he was perhaps the most respected and feared of all adults by the children, did not feel free to interfere with others' children. On several occasions he pointed out to me a child engaged in some dangerous or destructive activity, "tut-tutted" and expressed anxiety or disapproval of their actions but made no gesture to stop the child. Perhaps other members of the community would not be quite so timid in asserting authority as Marcel's wife, Cora, was in the following situation, but as a kind of distillation of the norm of non-interference the episode has more than just amusement value. Carterette was relating to Cora how four-year-old Benny Heriot seemed to spend his days bombarding our cabin with rocks and sticks, despite our frowns. Cora replied, "Yes," Benny was like that at her house, too. He had spent that morning pounding on the wall with an axe and culminated his labours by striking Cora's four-year-old daughter on the head with the blunt end. Carterette exclaimed in shocked tones, "Good heavens, what did you do?" Cora replied, "Well, I told him to go home, but he wouldn't."

In regard to adults, non-interference is the rule. Each person is his "own boss," and, outside of spouse or parents, other individuals do not offer suggestions or reprimands to him. The following episode is illustrative.

¹ Marcel Renard was notable in that of all the men he was the only one capable while sober of sustained easy visiting and conversation with us. Henri and Karl Mink were also desirous of closer contact and friendship, but their sporadic efforts when sober were obviously strained and painful to them. When intoxicated, almost all adults of the community were capable of conversation and interaction with us and with each other, and often sought hours of the same. This fact strongly suggests that a desire for warmth and social intimacy is present for most Slavey, but it is inhibited.

Twenty-year-old Arnie Tucho's step-father, Old Yukon, died in the autumn, leaving Arnie's mother, Erminie, with no income and four small children. Henri Mink, Erminie's son-in-law, provided many of their necessities throughout the winter. The following spring Arnie received his major income for the season from his beaver sale. With his money he bought a case of hair-oil and went on a drinking spree at the fort, frittering away most of his money. I commented to Karl that I thought this would make his brother Henri angry, since Henri was now forced again to buy provisions for Erminie and family. But Karl, though critical of Arnie generally, only answered that Arnie was "his own boss," implying that Henri would not feel free to control Arnie's behaviour or to express resentment at it.

With drunks, also, one does not usually interfere. A drunk may wake up a sleeping family at three in the morning, indulge in a prolonged visit, knock over and break two or three objects, and eventually pass out on the floor. No attempt is made by the unhappy hosts to control his behaviour, unless he becomes violent or places himself in danger, such as staggering outside to fall asleep in zero weather. Although observations were too scanty to be definitive, it also appeared that unless requested to do so, one does not offer suggestions or assistance even to someone obviously incapable or ignorant of the correct procedure in a task or activity. This was most often noted, of course, in regard to T. Carterette and me. Marcel stated that he was never "taught" the techniques of hunting. When as a youth he accompanied Old David or Old Mink in the bush, he learned such skills as moose stalking simply by observing the actions of the older man. Only when he could be of immediate assistance would he be given a specific command.

A second, and related, trait is the employment of avoidance and withdrawal as the primary techniques for handling unpleasant persons or situations. To "thrash matters out" or "stand up for one's rights" or "meet the challenge" in the face of undue or unwelcome actions is not the Slavey way. Rather, one ignores or retreats from the source of friction, irritation, or unpleasantness. Bold or peremptory behaviour is met by passive evasion; often embarrassment or "shyness" is manifested (*see below*). Actually, this form of unpleasant behaviour usually comes from Whites, as Slaveys do not offer demanding, aggressive, or challenging actions to one another as long as they are sober. They may, however, infringe upon or offend one another in more indirect ways. The shooting by Marcel of two beaver from Old David's lodges is a case in point. So also is the instance of the seduction of Henri's wife by his younger brother, Ozzie. And, of course, there are many more minor, sometimes unwitting, offences that one individual may perpetrate against another, such as being niggardly with brew.

Faced with an infringement or wrong, great or small, the injured person does not meet the situation with a direct and immediate defence of what he conceives to be his rights or with an attack (verbal or physical) upon the offender. Here again the qualification must be added—as long as he is sober. The only overt reaction that may occur is that the face may assume an expression of anger (*see below*). A grievance, however, may be held and

brooded over. So far as we could determine, the offended person is not apt to confide his grievance even to intimates. This conclusion is based on the fact that the children, who were eager to give us news of friction and anger, did not report such communications between adults in their own families. In the case of Old David's two beaver, for example, we heard nothing about his feeling of resentment toward Marcel from his grand-daughter and companion, Beatrice, until his drunken eruption some days after the event. This would be a situation that Beatrice would delight in reporting as soon as she knew of it. As the children tended, however, not to discuss problems within their own families, the negative evidence is not conclusive. During the field period, not once did we witness or receive an account of a direct clash between sober Slaveys. In regard to the beaver affair, Old David first expressed his anger toward Marcel more than a week after the event was known to him. This was the first time that Old David had been intoxicated since the offence. Grievances may smoulder for years—to come into the open only during intoxication. Apparently Henri's drunken challenge to his brother Ozzie and subsequent fight at New Year's were based on his resentful knowledge of his wife's seduction a year or two before and, perhaps, Henri's suspicion that the offence had reoccurred. Henri and Ozzie, however, despite the festering resentment, maintain close social and economic relations (they are trapping partners). Karl has nursed a grudge of long standing against Zachary Ingram. In the latter months of the field period we twice saw him whip himself into a sullen drunken rage at a brew party and launch a verbal attack against Zachary for the presumed mistreatment of Karl's illegitimate son by Thérèse, Zachary's wife. Since in both instances Zachary was relatively sober, he did not rise to the challenge but permitted himself only an angry glare and a few admonitory words and then departed.¹ Zachary's behaviour was typical in that a sober person will not meet a challenge from a drunk.

The situation between Cora Renard and her husband's half-sister, Thérèse, illustrates both the angry glare-*cum*-sullen silence which is the only overt expression of anger when sober, and the timidity and withdrawal that it customarily elicits from the object of that anger. After the birth of Thérèse's new baby, Cora was asked if she, like the other women, had visited Thérèse's tent to see the infant. Cora replied that she had not, because "Thérèse don't look good at me." She explained that Thérèse had given her a "look" (apparently the characteristic sullen glare) at the time of the death of Thérèse's mother (also the mother of Cora's husband) over a year before. It was not clear whether or not Thérèse had maintained her "look" toward Cora since, but in any event, Cora had thereafter avoided Thérèse. According to Cora, Liza, Thérèse's sister and best friend to both of them, did not know the reason for Thérèse's presumed hostility.

The fact that any display of anger is so severely checked in the interpersonal situation gives special interest to the observations on the treatment

¹ Zachary is an extremely aberrant drinker by Slavey standards. At all times he maintained a much greater degree of physical control than did others. He was the only man in the community who did not succumb to staggering stupor.

of dogs. Toward dogs, all, but the men especially, give free vent to angry actions, shouting, swearing, and belabouring them. More than one man spoke, almost with pride, of a flaring rage toward a loafing sled-dog that was released by sending a bullet or an axe into the animal's skull. The excited, angry actions of the men toward their dogs are startling to the observer accustomed to their usual quiet, controlled behaviour. By the age of two, children begin practising the raging and beating techniques of their fathers on any amenable dog.

The child's behaviour among his peers stands in contrast to the non-committal restraint of adults. The children frequently run as gangs, and they often, through interstimulation, engage in boisterous, excited behaviour—running and shouting, swearing, teasing, and “ganging up” on one another. Displays of anger, sometimes culminating in fights or tears, are not uncommon. Usually they result from excessive teasing. Within their own sex there is much physical contact, such as jostling, wrestling, and pushing, between children. Among the adolescents (from twelve on) physical play between members of the same sex may take on overtly sexual implications, as when they make teasing attacks at one another's genitals. These actions are limited to occasions when peers of the opposite sex are not present. Faced with unfamiliar people or situations, however, the child's bold and free behaviour disappears, and he takes refuge in timidity and shyness. In most cases, confidence and ease in the face of the new situation are gained only slowly.

Between adults and children familiar with one another, those within the Lynx Point community in this instance, the relationship is largely determined by the personality of the adult. Once babyhood is over, adults show little interest in interacting with others' children until adolescence begins to draw the child into the adult world. Ordinarily, an adult does not acknowledge a child's presence or converse with him unless one party or the other has a request or wishes information. Children, however, tend to test the limits of permissible behaviour with each adult. With a permissive adult, the children thunder in and out of his (or her) house, engage in all their boisterous activities under his nose, and are apt to tease, taunt, or spy on him when he is drunk. Thérèse and Zachary Ingram and Karl Mink have spared themselves these indignities by establishing among the children a reputation for being “all the time mad,” primarily by judicious use of the angry glare. Marcel receives awe and respect from the children, and they avoid his presence or control their behaviour while in it. It was evident they feared his displeasure, although they did not speak of him as being “mad.” Perhaps their awe was too great to permit such a remark.¹

¹ Among other reasons, we looked forward to Marcel's visit because it would clear our house of children. Marcel's high status within the community and his capacity for disapproval were no doubt the primary factors in establishing the children's caution toward him. However, it is idle but interesting to speculate to what extent Marcel's standard entertainment of terrifying all babies by ferocious scowls and gestures has laid a pattern of fear of him in the youngest generation.

I have suggested that there are certain norms in facial expression that are observed in interpersonal situations among the Slavey studied. I can do no more than present an admittedly impressionistic characterization of these norms of expression, but the attempt is, I feel, worth while in that the phenomena seem linked with the behaviour patterns discussed above and therefore support the observations on them. Three kinds of facial expression were repeatedly noted—the normal expression, that denoting “shyness” or anxiety (tension), in part accompanied by other characteristic physical behaviour, and that indicating anger.

The normal expression in face-to-face relations, such as casual conversational interaction, is one of sober or calm immobility of feature, verging in some individuals toward utter blankness. Smiles and other forms of facial animation while talking, listening, or observing appear to be substantially less employed among Slaveys than among Anglo-Americans. Some individuals’ standard sober expression, however, did include a slight frown. The lack of the use of the smile as a means of greeting, of establishing social contact, or of maintaining rapport is especially noticeable. Some individuals came to respond to our frequent (and, to the Indian, no doubt excessive) smiles upon contact, but they were not observed to use this social signal much among themselves. The smile appeared to be mainly limited to the expression of amusement.

Although facial impassivity is so common as to appear as a norm, it must be recorded that the facial behaviour of certain individuals diverged in greater or lesser degree from this standard. Liza, who often employed expressions of mock ferocity or surprise, was an outstanding deviation among the women. Of the men, Henri and Marcel more readily displayed vivacity of feature in personal interaction; in general, they were freer personalities. The vivacity, however, seemed to be manifested more while in interaction with the mobile-featured ethnologists than with their impassive fellow Indians. Henri has a broad grin and jolly nature that he can release even when sober, given encouragement. Children, with one or two exceptions, were quite lively-featured when in interaction with their peers, a contrast to the adults.

“Shyness”—the feeling of social unease, anxiety, or embarrassment—was more dramatically expressed by the women and children than by the men. Among the men, shyness is manifested mainly by even greater blankness and immobility of feature than usual. Fixedly averting the eyes from the source of unease appeared common, as did fidgeting—retying a moccasin string, tapping on the table, toying with any small object. Besides these mannerisms, women and children emphasize their shyness by turning away from the source of discomfort or by burying their faces in their hands. One seventeen-year-old male, Eddie Renard, still occasionally reverted to hiding his face when he became the object of too much attention from the ethnologists. There is little doubt that the dramatic shyness displayed by some young women or girls (Beatrice, for example) is in large part merely the acting out of the socially expected role for women. But many of the women are genuinely very timid and embarrassed in the presence of any but their

family and familiar kinsmen. Our major female informant, Cora Renard, though Simpson-bred, was of this sort. The establishment of rapport with her was a long and exhausting process for both sides. The *métis* river pilot, André Beauchamp, once commented that although he has been travelling along the Mackenzie for thirty years and visiting houses there, still "there are some old women whose faces I haven't seen yet." Upon the arrival of a stranger, women commonly retire to a far corner of the house and bow their heads or turn their backs.

Children display another trait that seems definitely a function of social unease—that of spitting. Adults spit occasionally, but it is well controlled, and if indulged in commonly by, say, an aged tobacco-chewing or tubercular person, a small can packed with moss is kept near by as a receptacle. During the first few months of the field study, however, when we were establishing contact with the children, they spat in our presence every few minutes. We in no way attempted to check this. By the later months of the field period, those children who had come to hang about our house and to lose all shyness of us had, as a group, simply ceased to spit.¹

As we have seen above, the sober person limits his display of anger to a stylized facial expression. The angered individual assumes a heavy frown and puts his mouth into a pout or pulls down the corners of it; the eyes are narrowed and a fixed stare ensues through the slitted eyelids. This glare may be directed either at the offending individual or at some point in lower space. Besides being employed to express the genuine emotion, mock anger is in this way used to tease babies.

Sociable Relations and Recreation

Individual recreation.—Before entering the discussion of sociable activities, a brief mention should be made of more or less solitary recreational practices. For adults, there are not many. Euro-American culture has contributed radios, magazines, and the mail-order catalogue as devices of entertainment. The news broadcasts and programs of "cowboy music" are of most interest. The radio appeared to be played mainly by the men. During the summer, the long hours of daylight prevent reception. The three literate individuals in the community (Zachary, Daniel, and Arnie) naturally are more interested in magazines. No one subscribes to a newspaper or magazine. One free trader in Simpson sells Western and detective pulps, and Zachary occasionally buys some from him. From time to time popular magazines come into their hands from the Catholic hospital or the Anglican minister in Simpson. Women and children enjoy illustrations in magazines, and both

¹ There appears to be an oral-gustatory syndrome in Slavey behaviour—suggested by such child traits as self-pacification by food, food stealing, and "shy" spitting, and at a later age, by gorging on meat, and by drunken and even sober drooling—that would be of significance in a modal personality study of these people. Carterette and I would surmise that both traditional cultural anxieties and behaviour patterns regarding food and hunger, and the early childhood training experiences (indulgence and demand feeding for the infant, then the abrupt displacement in nursing and affection by the new baby) would have to be taken into account.

sexes sought and enjoyed each issue of any subscription we had. The catalogues from the two larger Canadian mail order houses also provide hours of interest and enjoyment. Thérèse, an excellent housewife, copies the styles for her four-year-old daughter's dresses from the catalogues. Besides enjoying "window shopping" in the catalogue, children cut out the pictures, and the girls may use the human figures as paper dolls.

Many older boys and younger men attain some degree of skill with the violin, guitar, or harmonica. All play by ear and are devoted exclusively to "cowboy music." A young man may spend an hour or more at a time amusing himself by playing through his repertoire and attempting to work out new melodies that he has heard on the radio. Of the married men at Lynx Point at present, only Karl plays an instrument, though he brings out his violin rarely, and only at parties. It seems likely that the increased work and sense of adulthood of the married men inhibit such idle pastimes. Of all the females, only Thérèse plays an instrument. She ordered a twenty-dollar concertina with money she made from squirrel trapping. She usually plays in solitude when her husband and children are absent.

An activity by the women that appears to be in part recreational is making fancy embroidery for parkas, mitts, and moccasins. Actually, the ability to embroider well and to present one's husband to the world properly adorned is part of being an able wife; it is therefore difficult to judge to what extent women embroider for the sake of sheer enjoyment, and to what extent social expectations promote this activity.

All crafts pursued by the men are primarily practical in purpose. There is no doubt that some men derive pleasure from hunting and from exercising their craftsmanship in the manufacture of various useful items, but the purpose is primarily practical, except for the manufacture of toys (miniature boats, bows and arrows) for one's children. The only individual known to me among the Slavey of the Fort Simpson area who might be considered to pursue a craft hobby is a kinsman of Marcel who lives below Simpson and makes violins.

Perhaps one other activity might be classed as a form of opportunistic solitary recreation—when in the bush, a man may spend an hour or more simply watching some interesting animal activity, such as the play of beaver kits or the mating dances of the grouse. Some men recount these incidents with pleasure and interest.

Children often play by themselves. For example, it is common for a boy to spend an hour or two playing with a toy sled or boat. Girls often play with a doll, perhaps using simply a little bundle of sticks and rags to simulate a swaddled baby. Drawing is another pastime—boys usually choose hunting, trapping, and travelling themes; girls favour flower-embroidery designs.

The peer structure.—Within the Lynx Point community, four factors operate in those instances where one makes a choice of associates for purposes of recreation or general sociability. The closeness of the kin relationship is one factor, but it is tempered by another, that of personal inclination

and congeniality. The social alignments of the men on these bases were touched on earlier in this chapter, and we will recur to them in the following chapter.

The basic distinctions of sex and age are the remaining influences. Of all the factors, that of sex is the most limiting. Outside of the marital situation, adult men and women carry on no sustained sociable contact, except when brewing. Even adult siblings of the opposite sex appear to limit their interaction to brief, matter-of-fact contacts. Past the age of four or five, children when in small groups associate predominantly with members of their own sex.

Beyond these considerations in regard to one's associates, three major but informal age-grades can be recognized—babyhood, pre-adulthood, and adulthood. For the baby, one's parents and elder siblings make up the social environment. At about the age of three or four, once the child has sufficient physical development to run about on his own, he begins to interact with the broad group I have called the "gang"—the pre-adults. The gang includes all pre- and early adolescents at Lynx Point. It also includes, for most of their social activities, the late adolescents or young unmarried adults, or both. At the end of our field work, the individuals participating in this group ran from Ophelia, aged four and just entering under the shelter of her sister Noreen, to Eddie (seventeen), Arnie (twenty), and Ozzie (thirty). There seems to be no pressure on the older child to "act his age" in his recreational activities. We find the self-conscious, seventeen-year-old Eddie playing tag with four-year-olds. The older child, however, is expected to show more self-control and consideration for his small playmates than does the younger child, and he usually gives way to the younger ones. Within the general gang, of course, children choose their daily associates and special pals on the basis of sex, age, kin, and physical propinquity of households. Individuals frequently "palling around" together were, for example, in descending order of age: Ozzie Mink and Arnie Tucho; Arnie, his half-brother Harry (fourteen), and Eddie (seventeen); Noreen Renard and her cross-cousin Beatrice (thirteen and twelve); the two daughters of Lem Yukon, separated by two years in age; six-year-old Polly Mink and her four-year-old sister.

It is the married status that defines adulthood; it separates the men from the boys associationally. Only Ozzie, single at thirty years of age, participates freely in both groups, as he wishes. His house serves as a sort of boys' clubhouse; unlike the married men, he may be found playing cards or ball with the "kids." On the other hand, he enters fully into adult activities, such as brew parties. Once married, the responsibilities of adulthood inevitably follow, and one's associates and interests come from that group. Within the adult grade, no further distinction in sociable age-grading can be perceived.

Sociable events.—Many of the activities that are primarily or in large part socio-recreational have been mentioned earlier in other contexts. A systematic survey, however, is pertinent here. With two exceptions, socio-

recreational activities are very casual and informal in planning and execution. Under this category fall visiting, games, hunting, and gathering for sport, picnicking, and card-playing.

Men do not ordinarily indulge in idle visits. Usually they seek out another because they have a question to ask or a request to make or some information to impart.¹ After the distribution of big game meat, some men may briefly gather with the hunter to hear the details of the kill. On this occasion the hunter is feeling pleased and is eager to recount the adventure. Occasionally a man squatting on the river-bank, watching the river and opposite shore, may be joined by another, and a few comments may be passed. This is a frequent entertainment in Fort Simpson during the summer as well. To visit another in order to drink brew with him is a special case that will be taken up later.

Women have much less opportunity than their husbands for casual contacts and interchange outside the home, and they do visit their favourite friends for the sake of sheer sociability. They take with them their youngest children, and perhaps one or two older ones may tag along of their own accord. Much of the visit consists of mutual smiling enjoyment of the antics of the babies, interspersed from time to time with a sentence or two of comment or news. The visit may last perhaps an hour. Children are by far the most frequent visitors. They operate both individually and in gangs. Often their purpose is to seek out some other member of the gang peer group. But they may visit a congenial adult as well. Since in the latter instance they ordinarily receive no attention or acknowledgment from the adult during their visit, their entertainment consists mainly of sitting or standing about and watching the activities of the household. Occasionally they make a bid for attention by imparting some news or gossip.

Some organized games, primarily baseball, are played by mixed Indian-White groups in the forts. Lynx Point men do not participate when at Simpson. Such organized sports have not been taken up within the community. Kicking and throwing a soccer ball is the one group game in which adults at Lynx Point may on occasion participate. The activity scarcely merits the title "game," since it is without rules or organization. The boys and young unmarried men form the core of the players. Some adult (i.e., married) men stand on the outskirts, kicking the ball when it comes directly at them, but not entering into the racing and shouting of the boys. Women and girls often watch the activity with enjoyment, but they do not engage in play except in an occasional moment of bravado, which is accompanied by self-conscious giggles. There is usually one soccer ball at a time in the village; this is individually owned.

Dogsled and snowshoe races are held at Easter in Fort Simpson. Like the summer baseball games, they are organized by the Whites. Lynx Point men take interest and occasionally participate in the Easter sports, but they

¹ In this respect, Marcel's long, friendly, purposeless visits to us were unique. He did not, to our knowledge, indulge in such visits with other Slaveys.

do not engage in such activities among themselves. Members of the child peer gang occasionally race one another on snowshoes.

Children indulge in many kinds of group play. The following items are representative but are not complete coverage. Sometimes they merely play with their dolls, toy sleighs, and boats alongside a friend with similar toys. Boys go ice-skating together in the winter and swimming in the summer. Imaginative play, single or joint, that simulates adult activities such as hunting, baby tending, or brewing is frequent. Spontaneous eruptions of excited gang "fights" are not uncommon—throwing tin cans filled with ashes at each other or onto roofs, for example, or pelting one another with horse manure. Adults usually ignore the surrounding *mêlée*. If, after many minutes, the hysteria shows no signs of abating, one of the sterner-minded men may tell the children to stop. Forms of tag or hide-and-seek games are played, such as moose-pursued-by-wolves, or Indians-pursued-by-police (or game warden). The latter "tag" game once produced the innovation of paying "money," manufactured by the children, for fines upon being caught. A description indicated that a form of snow-snake is known to the children.¹

Many of the fishing, small game hunting, and food-gathering expeditions by men, women, and children, especially in the warmer months, must be viewed as partly recreational. Details of these activities have been presented in earlier sections.

Poker is widely played throughout the region. Gambling for money is part of most poker games, and sometimes the betting, judged by income, is heavy. Instances of seventy-five or one hundred dollars changing hands are reported along the river. Some Lynx Point men play poker for money with outsiders. Within the community, however, it is understood that there will be no gambling for money—matches are used as counters. Actually, the Lynx Point men seldom play among themselves. A game is most apt to occur during the "fall fishery" when windy weather forces the Lynx Point powerboat and crew into days of complete idleness, or during some similar circumstance. The peer gang males occasionally play a simplified poker game—without "raising" or "bluffing," for example—which is geared to the least knowledgeable player. About the age of ten, boys begin to learn poker by participating in these sessions. In age, the players may range from Ozzie (thirty years old) to Frank Ingram (ten).

Marcel enjoys checkers, having learned the game from his former White partner, Andrews, but he complains that no one else at Lynx Point is interested in playing. The dice and board game "Snakes and Ladders" enjoyed an initial popularity among the peer gang males when it was introduced by the ethnographers.

The playing of musical instruments in unison for group enjoyment was not observed except at brew parties. In the later stages of drunkenness, men

¹This game might have been introduced into the Mackenzie region by Iroquois or Algonkian-Métis voyageurs in the last century. But Diamond Jenness mentions that snow-snake is present among the Sekani, Gitksan, and Carrier, and in his opinion dates from aboriginal times (*The Sekani Indians of British Columbia*, National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 84 [Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1937], p. 58).

frequently sing wailingly, either in unison or singly. The songs may be either "cowboy songs" or, by older men, wordless (aboriginal?) wails. Both tend to be produced in a slow-tempoed falsetto. Four kinds of dancing are recognized—the jig, round dancing (ballroom style), square dancing, and the traditional shuffle and jogging of the drum dance and the tea dance. The last two forms are the most familiar. Within the community, however, it may be said that people do not dance. Two minor qualifications must be made to this statement. Drum dancing and square dancing have occurred at the Lynx Point New Year celebration (*see* following section). Also, some men may jig alone or together when drunk. But ordinarily, self-consciousness is a strong inhibiting factor, especially among women. In regard to round dancing, it appears that direct sexual embarrassment plays a large role.

Henri is an enthusiastic and indefatigable participant in the drum and tea dances at Fort Simpson, and, when intoxicated at brew parties, he delights in jigging and reeling rhythmically about the floor. Inevitably during his intoxication he would ask us if we "knew the waltz" and express his desire to learn. (Probably his devotion to the song "The Tennessee Waltz" fostered this desire.) In the early stages of one brew party, I responded to Henri's statements that he liked to do the round dance by suggesting that we dance together, which we did briefly. During the episode, both Carterette and I sensed such upset among the (male) onlookers and even in Henri, probably due to the sexual implications of paired dancers in their minds, that I never felt free to encourage Henri's enthusiasm again.

It seems sure that Henri yearns for an art of which his world allows him little expression. Henri's predicament epitomizes the lack of development of expressive cultural traditions. For Ozzie, without a family or household to absorb his time and energies, a vast boredom seems to fill his leisure hours, which he fills with aimless sitting and wandering about the village. At the brew party, drunkenness allows the individual to slacken many of the cultural-*cum*-self-imposed restraints. But there are few conventional modes of aesthetic and emotional release to which he may freely turn.

There are two kinds of group activities to which some degree of formality attaches—the brew party and the New Year celebration. The New Year celebration, which incorporates a brew party as well, is the most elaborate and formalized group event at Lynx Point. It is, indeed, a rite, and the only one spontaneously observed within the Lynx Point community. (I do not consider the Roman Catholic rites held by the priest during his visits to be *Lynx Point* activities, in that the priest is an alien, compelling force.)

The New Year Celebration

New Year observances have a strong tradition in the North and are derived from the old Scottish celebration, continued in the North by the Scottish factors and clerks of the Hudson's Bay Company. A transcription from early Company records at Fort Simpson reads:

1838, January 1. The morning was ushered in by a salute fired by our people at the windows and doors, after which they came to wish us a Happy New Year—and in return, in conformity to the custom of the country they were treated, the

men to half a glass of brandy each, and the women with a kiss, and the whole of them with as many cakes as they chose to take and some raisins. One of our gentlemen who had a bottle of shrub treated them to a glass, and after some chit-chat conversation they retired, firing a salute on going out. In the evening they played at Blindman's-bluff, concluding the fete by a supper at the hall. I also gave each of the men a fathom of twist tobacco and a clay pipe.¹

Some activities of a similar nature—in which the Indians, saluting with rifle shots, formally pay a visit to the trading establishments and receive small gifts—are carried out in the present day at Fort Simpson and Providence. In earlier years, according to Marcel, the New Year at Fort Simpson was a major event, and Indians from as far away as Head-of-the-Line, Liard, and Wrigley would come to Simpson for the festivities, which included dancing jigs and reels. As far as Marcel knows, other bush Indian settlements do not hold their own New Year observance as do the Lynx Point people. The Lynx Point celebration was instituted by Old Mink in the early days of the community. Most of the activities are patterned on the traditional celebrations at the forts, although, as will be noted, at least one aboriginal element has been incorporated.

At Lynx Point, people begin to plan for the celebration days in advance. It is hoped that there will be plenty of "meat" (i.e., something more than small game flesh) for the feast. If the hunters are fortunate in securing plenty of moose in the weeks before the New Year, some of the best pieces are put aside for that day. In the year of the field work, it was decided to change the locale of the feast from Karl's house (Old Mink's former house) to Daniel's, because in former years people had become "too drunk" at Karl's place. Marcel feels that excessive drinking is not in the proper spirit of the occasion, and he probably was the major force behind the change. (His strategem, however, was in vain.) Men must start the brew for the occasion at least two days in advance. Each family decides on its food contribution to the party. Much of the preparation of the food, which is cooked the day before, is carried out by the men, suggesting the ritual importance of the act. Arrangements are made for sufficient tables and chairs to be brought to the house where the feast is to be held. On New Year's Eve, some of the men are apt to call in a friend or two to help them sample their brew to "see if it is ready," in which case they are not likely to stop until the pot is emptied. Toward midnight on New Year's Eve, a few rounds of ammunition are fired in anticipatory celebration. On New Year's morning, several men or boys may gather at the host's house to aid in last minute preparations.

The formal observances on New Year's Day may be considered to have three parts—the procession, the feast, and the postprandial singing and drumming. Passages from the field notes, describing the events on the first day of January, 1952,² are given below, in order to present a more in-

¹ This passage is recorded by Agnes Deans Cameron, *The New North* (New York: Appleton and Co., 1910), p. 193.

² Written by Carterette, the only ethnologist in the field at that time.

timate picture of the celebration than a generalized description would allow. Further documentation, drawn from interviews with Marcel, is added where pertinent.

From the field notes:

Preliminary activities (1 January 1952).—During the early morning I've been hearing intermittent shooting. Still in my everyday clothes I go next door to Daniel's house, where the dinner is to be held. Eddie and Ozzie are already there. Daniel is dressing and his wife Liza is washing little Benny. Their other boys, Robert and Forrest, are already dressed in new jackets, shirts, pants, moccasins, and toy pistols. Beatrice has on a new dress and embroidered moccasins. Old David is also changing into new clothes. I tell Daniel to tell Beatrice to come in for me when Liza is ready to start work. I've been home a short while when Daniel comes in. He asks if I have some brew left. I tell him I managed to salvage about three inches of the pot. "Do you want a drink now?"—"No." He says everything is ready, and we carry my pies and canned hams to his house.

In Daniel's house a long table has been set, apparently by the men—Karl, Ozzie, and Daniel—since Liza has been busy with the children and since the men are still working around it. I get a very gay greeting from Karl who is high but sober—"Hello, friend. Happy New Year." . . . When I start to leave, Ozzie, who is playing with one of the boy's toy pistols, says, "Stick 'em up and give me your money." I raise my hands saying I have no money. Karl, who is near by, laughs "liar," and when I show him my empty pockets, he jokes, "air."

Before I leave, Karl, who is also preparing to leave, tells Daniel that they are going to start from his house in fifteen minutes and go all around town to Zachary's house and then here. Karl tells him to have some tea ready when they come. This is all delivered in a very business-like tone—much as if it were new to Daniel, who simply nods yes. [Karl has been noted to indulge in this sort of gratuitous ordering of affairs on other occasions when he has been drinking.]¹

The procession.—The formal events begin when the members of the household selected to commence the procession leave their dwelling and start for the next house. Upon arrival, a salute is fired over the roof by the men. Then the visitors enter the dwelling and shake hands with the resident adults, first the men and then the women. Each household in the community is approached in this fashion, the throng growing as each family visited joins the procession to the next house.

From the field notes:

When I've finished dressing, I return to Daniel's house to find out exactly what the visiting arrangements will be. Daniel says that except

¹ These parenthesized remarks are my later insertions to aid the reader in comprehending the events more fully.

for Karl's house (where the procession begins) everyone will sit at home visiting and join the group of visitors when they come. I ask if I should stay at his house, and he suggests that I wait at my house because the group will be stopping there too. When they come, then I should join them and go on to Zachary's house.

I return home. . . From my window I see the group approaching Marcel's house. The men, led by Henri and all hatless [a most unique occurrence, emphasizing the solemnity of the occasion], precede the women who are accompanied by the children. They move in single file, and there is a space of a few yards between the men and women. After shooting one round over the roof of the house, the men set down their rifles and go in, followed by the women. In about five minutes the men begin to come out and move in single file toward my house. At the right side of the house, which is the one in their path, they shoot their rifles over the roof and then come in—Henri is the first—and shake hands with me. "Happy New Year." . . . After a few minutes of standing and sitting around, during which everything is completely unformalized, we start out, with the men preceding, to Zachary's house. There Thérèse and Zachary sit on opposite sides of the house. Zachary is greeted first, then Thérèse. As many people as can sit down do so—the women around Thérèse and the men around Zachary. But very soon everyone is on his way to Big David's (and Daniel's house). I join Nelly May's mother, who is carrying her two-year-old grandson, Nicholas, at the end of the line. As we are about to enter Big David's house, Karl, who has a box camera, calls to me to stop at the door, and he takes a picture. Bessie Yukon and Karl's mother-in-law (Nelly May's mother), who are also at the end of the line, stop and are included in the picture. Karl asks me if I'll take some pictures later of his family in their new clothes for the occasion.

In Daniel's house, the greeting is much as it was at Zachary's. Liza is sitting on the bed, and Daniel is on the trunk against the wall, a couple of yards away. Big David is seated on a chair by the stove in the centre of the room. The women and children sit down around Liza, and the men gather around the table.

The feast.—Henri sits at the centre of the long side of the table, facing the room. Marcel sits on his left, then Lem Yukon. On Henri's right are Isadore Loche, Bill Yukon, and Old David. On the left, Zachary, Daniel, and Ozzie stand facing the men who are sitting. Karl sits at one end of the table. Arnie sits at the kitchen table, which is near the other end of the big table. This end has no place setting. . . .

At the women's end of the room the younger kids play—talking fairly loudly. Henri rises and delivers what I later learn is a prayer. One of the men calls to the kids to keep quiet. Karl asks someone

about the salt. As he finishes talking, Henri walks around to the cook-stove with a plate of food which he throws into the fire. He then returns to the table, and everyone sits down.

Four places are still vacant at one end of the table, and Henri, after some discussion, calls Eddie (the oldest boy), Nelly May's mother, and me to the table. Nelly May's mother brings her grand-daughter, Polly, to the table with her but leaves Nicholas (her youngest grandchild) asleep on Liza's bed. A grace is said, and the sign of the cross is made before the serving begins. For the most part, things are passed as requested, and it is the men who take the initiative. When the plate of rabbit reaches our end of the table, however, both Nelly May's mother and I get it before Lem Yukon, who is at the farthest end of the table. When the men at the far end of the table ask for coffee, it is Ozzie and Daniel who get up to serve it, passing the pot to the end of the table. It is passed back up to the centre where Marcel pours himself a cup after Henri calls the server's attention to the fact Marcel hasn't had any. . . .

As soon as grace was said, the spirit of the gathering changed to one of laughing and joking, with Henri and Karl doing most of the talking. The Yukons and Isadore Loche also laughed a great deal. (These men were somewhat "high.") But Marcel, who was directly opposite me, remained very sober and quiet, keeping his head lowered most of the time and at times almost visibly wincing at Henri's remarks. In contrast to Henri, who helped himself to some of everything in sight, Marcel ate very sparingly. . . .

The meal ended with the grace being said again, and as the sign of the cross was completed, everyone yelled "Happy New Year" and two plates of cigarettes were brought out and passed around. After the men had thus finished, they reset the table, and the rest of the women and the children ate, but without any of the ceremonial being enacted.

We see that certain explicitly solemn and religious usages are attached to the feast—an initial prayer, a food offering, and a grace before the meal, followed by a repetition of the grace and the sign of the cross after eating. The saying of grace and the making of the sign of the cross are Catholic ritual formulae and as such need no further exposition. Marcel states that the food offering and, presumably, also the initial prayer of which the offering is the culmination, are observances instituted by Old Mink and are not practised at New Year feasts at Fort Simpson. The prayer is the same each year and is a request that every one here today, especially the old people, will be here next year also. The person who makes the prayer also makes the food offering. Besides Henri, Marcel and Old David have officiated at this rite. The purpose of throwing the food into the fire at the conclusion of the prayer, is, according to Marcel, to bring "good luck." He denied that it is an offering to the dead. Since the burning of food for the

dead is, however, a documented custom among the northern tribes in earlier times,¹ it seems likely that the present-day offering is its historical descendant, the old rationale having been rejected or lost.

Events following the feast.—When Old Mink was alive (i.e., before 1928), he sang Indian songs after the banquet, accompanying himself on the drum. There was no dancing. Today, Nelly May's mother sings songs (as distinct from the wordless dancing chants) after the feast. One of the old woman's most common songs was composed by her first husband, who died at Providence in the great influenza epidemic of 1928. The song is about "a creek this side of Providence." (The first husband of the old woman was evidently a virtuoso, for Marcel has heard that "he make up lots of songs. Jesus Christ, nice songs. At Providence, everybody else play the drum, and he sing. Don't dance, just drums with song.")

According to Marcel, there should also be a session of drumming and chanting, with dancing (Slavey, or "tea-dance," style) at Henri's house. (This house is the largest and can best accommodate dancing.) There might also be square dancing, with violin and guitar accompaniment. On New Year's of 1952, however, everyone got "too drunk" to dance. Many of the men managed to maintain their "high" state from the night before, by having several cups of brew before the dinner. After eating, the brew party began again in earnest at Henri's house and elsewhere. It was evident, from Marcel's behaviour at the time and from later comments, that Marcel has a sense of solemnity and tradition in regard to the New Year observance, and he feels that intoxication before and during the feast vitiates the dignity of the occasion. "Nice if don't drink before dinner, but every time Henri start before. In Old Mink's time, didn't drink before."

The brew party.—The brew party is pre-eminently *the* sociable and recreational activity at Lynx Point. Drinking is highly valued; in many minds it is directly and uniquely equated with "having a good time." By the time

¹ P. E. Goddard's report of the Beaver Indians of the Peace River region contains the following pertinent statements: "The one community ceremony of striking interest is the semi-annual gathering when offerings of food are placed in the fire. . . . The officiating individual puts in the fire pieces of the flesh of the game animals and prays that the tribe may be fed with such food in the future." In questioning "an elderly Beaver named Ike," the following was secured: "Q: To whom are the things placed in the fire given? Ans: We are just following an old fashion. It is the only way to give food to the folks who have died and gone to heaven . . . and ask them to give us more of what we have put in the fire." Goddard also states: "The Chipewyan of Cold Lake spoke of a similar ceremony held each spring which they referred to as 'feeding the fire.' This seems to have been the one important ceremony of the north." *The Beaver Indians*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History (New York, 1916), X, Part IV, 229-30.

Poole Field, writing in the year 1913 of "the Indians now living and hunting in the country lying between the upper Liard and Mackenzie waters of the Yukon," reports the practice of putting food in the fire for the dead as part of the "death ceremony." Most of the bands with which Field was familiar, e.g., the "Pellys" and the "Little Salmons," would be classified as Pacific Drainage or Cordilleran Athapaskans, following Osgood or Jenness. Field is vague as to whether or not the custom obtains among the Mountain Indians (North-eastern Athapaskans who speak a dialectic variant of Slavey), a "tribe" with which he also was familiar. Letter dated Ross River, February 8, 1913, in the possession of the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa. Osgood (op. cit., p. 82) mentions the feeding of the fire, with apparently no rationale, among the Satudene. "At Good Hope [Hares] the purpose of putting food in the fire was said to be to feed the dead."

children are four or five they have absorbed this adult evaluation. They act on it in their earlier years by play-acting "brew party" and, as they near adolescence, by stealing drinks of brew or attempting its manufacture. Some children experience feelings of anxiety and fear regarding drunken behaviour, especially in their parents,¹ but the high social value placed on drinking is, in Linton's terms, such a firmly established cultural universal at Lynx Point and apparently throughout all Slavey society, that an outright rejection of it by an individual can scarcely be conceived.²

Drinking and its customary medium, the brew party, have a multitude of functional ramifications in personal and social life at Lynx Point. Some few have been touched on in earlier contexts. The present discussion does not pretend to exhaust the complexities of the role of brewing in Lynx Point life but merely to present those aspects that are most relevant to the general topic of norms of interpersonal behaviour.³

It is illegal for Indians in the Northwest Territories to buy or make intoxicants.⁴ Also, extracts or malt (for making beer) may not be sold to Indians. Only very rarely can Indians of the Simpson area obtain commercial beer or liquor (from bootleggers) since the nearest source of supply is Hay River. Equally rare is an extract or hair tonic spree. Except for an occasional tin of illicit malt or beer that may come their way, the Lynx Point people rely on brew—a preparation of yeast, molasses, sugar, dried currants, and water that must ferment in warm surroundings for at least two days. Other ingredients such as canned fruits or jam may be added. A score of years ago, some of the Lynx Point men also made "moonshine" and they still possess the necessary copper coils. But the "old people" (apparently the sister-matriarchs of the community) objected on the grounds that the drink was bad for health, and the manufacture was abandoned.

Each household has at least one four- or six-gallon pot for brewing. The brew contents of a pot are individually owned by the person whose ingredients went into it. Most frequently, that person is an adult male, but women, and also late teenage males who can afford the makings, do some brewing. A wife, upon her husband's instructions, may often prepare a pot of brew for him. "No one . . . except possibly the person who prepares it, may take some of (an individual's) brew without the owner's permission or instructions."⁵

¹ This information was elicited by the Moral Ideology questionnaire administered to the children by Carterette.

² I am informed of an Indian of Fort Simpson who has foresworn drinking, and I have since met a Dogrib "teetotaler."

³ As stated in the introduction, Brewing (and also Child Life) were the special areas of study for Carterette. While we shared many of the field observation situations and developed many of our initial ideas and hypotheses jointly, Carterette had pursued further analysis and development of the material independently since leaving the field. A more intensive study of brewing than is given here is presented in a manuscript by Carterette, "The Relationship of Brewing Behavior to Other Behavior in a Slave Indian Society." I have freely excerpted passages from that study for presentation here and have in general checked the points in regard to brewing that I have seen fit to emphasize with Carterette's analysis.

⁴ In November 1959, the Indian of the Northwest Territories was granted equal liquor privileges with the White citizen.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

Carterette has well described the typical brew party and I can do no better than to present her treatment of it.

Brew drinking always occurs in a group; there is no solitary drinking . . . Men hold drinking parties considerably more frequently than do women or adolescents; for it is rarely that a group returns from the trapline or from Fort Simpson that there is not a brew party. The children always talked of how their fathers would drink brew on their return at these times. Men prepare pots expressly for the return from the trapline or from Fort Simpson. Although New Year's is celebrated with drinking and Sunday is spoken of as a day of rest and brew drinking, brewing may occur any day of the week when men return from any extended work period. The brew party begins in the house of the person who owns the brew. Those who have been invited begin drinking; but once drinking is under way, an uninvited adolescent or adult may drop in and stand around until he is offered a cup. The owner of the pot fills a pitcher and sits at the kitchen table with his male guests. The men sit on benches and trunks facing the table; and the women sit in a separate group near the bed which is usually on the opposite side of the room. At first, people wait for the host to refill cups and tumblers. Drinking is casual but very steady; and the host refills empties as soon as they come up. From time to time he serves his wife and other women guests; but they receive considerably less than do the men.

Each time the host fills the cups he apologizes for the poor quality of the brew—usually remarking that it is too sweet and not strong enough—and explains that he has only a small amount of brew on hand, usually a half pail left from the last time. He makes this last statement despite the fact that everyone is quite aware that it is in all probability untrue. Brew making, while it is a simple operation, takes a couple of hours; and with the children of the community continually visiting and exchanging information, it is a rare occasion when a person can keep his brew-making a secret. While no reply is made to the declaration that there is little brew on hand, every self-deprecating remark about the quality of the drink is met with reassurances that the brew is excellent and strong. The guest thanks the host for the brew profusely, and on every refill he counters the apology with praise and emphatic thanks. Often there is a slight smacking of the lips and the appreciative exclamation, "Strong!"

The men begin by conversing in low tones and behaving in the customary constrained manner. Those who have returned from town or the trapline, report all they have heard, seen and done, the number and kinds of tracks in the bush, the presence of strangers in or near the area they have visited, changes in the physical features, arrivals in Fort Simpson, prices of furs and commodities, game law gossip, purchases, and events occurring at other settlements. A man who has shot a moose recounts the details of tracking, the weather, the terrain, and the kill. Gradually, there is a relaxation of mood, and if any brew remains the host instructs his guests to refill their cups whenever they wish, putting the pitcher in the center of the table. Conversation becomes louder and more animated. Where formerly the entire group of men formed the conversational group—one man at a time commanding the attention of all the others—the group now begins to break up into small conversational units. Ozzie, Arnie, and sometimes Karl are by this time playing the fiddle and guitar and singing. Marcel occasionally joins in the singing and Henri starts to dance about. The barriers between male and female are removed, and a man will make joking flirtatious remarks to any single or widowed woman in the room. The married women, who have had little to drink, frequently leave the principal scene of drinking and go to visit another woman who may have some brew. For the most part, married women do not drink as much as the men or the widowed women. However, there are occasions when brew drinking is unusually heavy and prolonged and some of the women get drunk enough to require assistance in walking.

When the host's visible supply of brew has been exhausted, as he has been predicting since the beginning of the party, one of the guests issues invitations to individuals to come to his house for a drink. Most of the guests make it to the next house; but one or two may wander home to sleep or decide to visit some other house. If the men decide that a particular member is already drunk enough to possibly cause trouble by becoming aggressive, they try to avoid inviting him to the next house. If they succeed in excluding him either by persuading him to go home to sleep or by dodging him, and he should arrive later, everyone will hide his cup as the unwanted guest enters. This is rarely effective since the unwanted guest simply remains until the others are forced to offer him a cup. Drinking continues so long as anyone is willing to volunteer his brew or so long as some one is successful in wheedling another cup. Some of the men will wander off to visit or go home to sleep; others will fall asleep on the floor and remain undisturbed until they awaken. Frequently a man is so drunk that he has to be taken home. If an argument and fighting begin, people usually manage to get one of the combatants home. Throughout these activities, the children and adolescents go from house to house collecting and disseminating information about the proceedings. Most brew parties stretch over a period of two days. Unless a new group returns from the trapline, the second day's drinking is usually moderate and activities are quiet. People who served brew the previous day have usually managed to save a couple of quarts; and the men will sit about for a few hours drinking and conversing in a leisurely fashion. Those who have pressing chores perform them.¹

The impulsive behaviour produced by brewing contrasts sharply with the norms of sober life. Carterette writes:

During the brew party, the adult adopts many aspects of nonadult behavior. The men come together explicitly to have a good time. As more and more brew is consumed, their reserve disappears. Speech becomes louder; gestures more animated . . . Physical closeness is common as the men put their arms around each other's shoulders and lean close, their faces almost touching, to converse. Old David would tease the girls about lifting their skirts. Especially if the women, too, have been drinking, men and women associated more freely. [Men] may tease an adolescent boy or become affectionate with another man. So, Daniel put his arms around another man's shoulders, saying, "I want to kiss you but I can't," and on another occasion [the adolescent] Harry fled from Daniel's advances.

Men who come across a woman whose husband is not about will flirt with her, reaching for her upper arms and brushing their hands against her breasts. Occasionally there are pre-marital or adulterous sexual relations. During drinking parties, one is likely to find husband and wife sitting on the bed together, something which rarely happens [in sober circumstances] . . .

The men, especially, are quick to take offence, to express some grudge and start a fight. Persons who have lost a near relative within the previous year will become despondent, express their loneliness, and cry for the dead person. Pre-occupation with the welfare of aged parents is expressed . . . [so] are unrealistic plans [such as fantasies about joining the army] . . . Intoxicated, Karl became bossy, Daniel demanded everyone's attention, and Marcel was easily irritated.¹

Some drunks may indulge themselves in diatribes or even murderous fantasies against what they conceive to be repressive Government officials or laws.

All these forms of impulsive, directly expressive behaviour in the drunk are viewed with tolerance. The drunk is not held responsible for lapses. The sober person feels no moral superiority, for in his turn he will behave much

¹ Ibid., pp. 93-94.

the same. Only continual or extreme aggressive behaviour, and here is included violent sexuality, draws moral censure to the individual. Fighting within the nuclear family is not frequent, but it is considered perhaps the most shocking form of drunken aggression. When Marcel learned that he had "fought" (apparently only verbally) with his wife Cora while drunk, he was sufficiently upset that he deliberately went easy on drinking for the next few weeks. And the day after Eddie (Marcel's son) struck his mother in a drunken rage, he hid, in shame, at Ozzie's house. There is some evidence that adultery is more readily pardoned by the offended spouse if it is committed while intoxicated. Indeed, it appears that drunkenness is the usual prerequisite for illicit sexual activities.

It must be recognized that much of the appeal of drinking lies in the release and freedom from usual constraints and that almost all Slaveys are greedy drinkers, apt to stick with it until the supply, often copious, runs out or oblivion sets in. It would be false, however, to imply that no controls are exercised either by the drunken individual or by the group.

First, the fact that drunken brawling has never at Lynx Point (or, as far as gossip tells us, in the whole region) resulted in injuries more severe than a black eye or broken nose implies that a standard of individual discipline plus group responsibility toward drunken members is maintained. Of the Lynx Point people, only Arnie was reported as having seriously threatened the physical well-being of others: he once defied Ozzie's attempt to control him by brandishing a knife, and he broke Emily Loche's nose when she refused to renew an adulterous contact with him. Occasionally, a drunken Slavey may manifest a berserk rage—as when Cora Renard's visiting cousin, Louis Bon-à-rien, smashed windows, defecated on the floor, and frightened Cora into the bush by threatening her with an axe. But I know of no instances where these "berserkers" have inflicted serious or fatal injuries. Either the threatened party flees, or others interfere to pacify or restrain the drunk. (I suspect that in most instances, a berserk drunk's threatening advances are just that, and that internal checks would, in any event, keep him from actually putting his threats into action.) The usual role of non-interference is in abeyance when a drunk launches a verbal assault or threatens his own or others' physical well-being. In the last stages of drunkenness, individuals are watched to see that they do not wander into the bush or fall asleep outside in zero weather. Other drinkers, those not too far "gone" and not directly involved, or sober onlookers attempt to pacify or distract the belligerent drunk. Women and children run to hide axes and rifles if a serious altercation begins. Men often place themselves between disputants, perhaps uttering some such pleading phrases as Daniel's "Be a sport, old man, be a sport." Wives lead their aggressive husbands home. Sisters or mothers may administer a scolding.¹ To my knowledge, only in the case of Arnie have approved physical sanctions been invoked against a drunk's

¹ I cannot say whether or not Slaveys who are relative strangers to one another would assume the responsibility of stopping aggression. It must be remembered that these descriptions of norms of behaviour at Lynx Point are of a primary group, whose members have a strong social and emotional "stake" in each other.

behaviour. As Arnie's buddy, Ozzie was assigned (by leading male opinion) the task of "fighting Arnie" to punish him for breaking Emily's nose (Emily's tiny ageing husband, Isadore, would certainly have been unable to master Arnie's youthful bulk). Ozzie is often called on to handle Arnie when he becomes unpleasant. On some occasions, Arnie's continuing refusal to behave has aroused Ozzie's (drunken) anger, so that a fight has ensued.

We have seen that two major occasions for drinking are observed—on the return from activities that have taken the men from home for several days and on Sundays or holidays, "days of rest." No drinking is done on the trap-line, while at the "fall fishery," or while carrying out an extended job on the power-boat. It is recognized that drinking at these times could be physically dangerous and could cause the failure of the project. Also it is known, and with some lapses acted on by most, that drinking while working for Whites is apt to cause dismissal or lead to general unpleasantness. Caution is exercised in offering brew to outsiders. Non-Lynx Point people are carefully judged; those individuals who have a reputation for brawling are not likely to be offered brew.

On the whole, individuals perform the chores of living, such as bringing in a wood supply and tending the snares, before they start brewing, or each household sees that some member remains sober to be responsible for keeping the fire going, tending the younger children, and such. Commonly, this is the wife or older daughter. This consideration is one of the major reasons why women do not drink so frequently nor, on most occasions, so heavily as men. The other is that women cannot often afford to buy their own brew-makings and thus are usually dependent on the occasional cup (which they cannot repay) that they receive from their husbands' or other men's pots. The outlook on the sexes, however, is egalitarian in regard to drinking. No disapproval or distaste is expressed by men against women's drinking *per se*; they are entitled to get as staggeringly drunk as their husbands, the aforementioned circumstances permitting. Only when a woman has a small baby does heavy drinking meet with disapproval, because, it is explained, her intoxication may cause her to injure the baby inadvertently or not nurse and care for it properly.

Social Control

The foregoing discussion has, from time to time, touched on problems of offences against the maintenance of the social order. A more systematic presentation is now attempted. In point of fact, extreme social misbehaviour is seldom a problem at Lynx Point. Certain major crimes, such as murder,

¹ Only one instance of deliberate murder by a Slavey is known to the community. A decade or more ago, a "Providence Indian" shot his wife because of his suspicion that their child was not his. He was tried and hanged.

² Petitot emphasizes that in an earlier day the Slavey reaction to crimes beyond the pale, specifically cannibalism, was not to punish the *windikouk* with death or banishment from the band (the former being the Cree solution) but for all bands to flee and continue to flee the presence of the cannibal. *Grand Lac des Esclaves*, pp. 133-34. Regarding the Athapaskan Chipewyans, Samuel Hearne comments that, unlike the Cree, murder is rare among them, and the murderer is "shunned." *A Journey from Prince of Wales Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean in the Years 1769, 1770, 1771, and 1772*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1911), p. 144.

would in any event pass into the hands of the police.¹ Ostracism² would probably be the most extreme form of punishment that the community could impose upon an offender. To my knowledge, nothing has ever occurred at Lynx Point or at neighbouring communities that has brought this sanction. Arnie's brutality to Emily Loche is probably considered in the eyes of Lynx Pointers one of the most extreme instances of misbehaviour, but the facts that Arnie had been drunk and Emily had previously acquiesced to sexual relation with him are no doubt considered mitigating circumstances. Thérèse's and Karl's "incestuous" (parallel-cousin) union was disapproved, but there is no evidence of a sense of horror or abomination on the part of the community. An offence would have to be very grave, or impossible to conceal, or both, before one Lynx Point person would call the police against another.¹

What, then, are the kinds of behaviour most commonly met by the community that either give rise to general disapproval or contempt, or foster justifiable resentment in an offended individual. First, there are the behaviour traits of "making the bull-shit" (posing as an authority on a subject, or indulging in self-glorification, usually false, or general lying), stinginess, bossiness, and gossiping about community affairs to outsiders. The complaint that certain individuals are "all the time mad" was heard only from children. Anxiety, rather than resentment, appears to be the dominant response to this condition. Non-Lynx Point people are also judged on the basis of these traits. Stealing is condemned but is no problem within the Lynx Point community. Being a "hard worker" is an admirable trait. Most often this criterion was applied by Marcel in evaluating outsiders, but he did, on a couple of occasions, counter an unfavourable judgment on Lem Yukon's propensity for foolish talk and lying by pointing out that Lem was a "hard worker." Interestingly, no one was directly condemned to us as being lazy, not even outsiders, nor was laziness *per se* mentioned as a bad trait. Within the community it was obvious that there were two good candidates for this title—Arnie and Daniel. Once, when Marcel was drunk (and Marcel's gossipy thirteen-year-old daughter verified this on another occasion) we learned that Marcel resented Arnie's and Daniel's loafing while on the job as crewmen of the power-boat. I would surmise, without means of proof for either argument, that laziness is considered such a major defect that it is very serious to accuse another of it, or, alternatively, that though it may be resented within one's own family, it is in ordinary circumstances not the business of others, who accordingly are given no social justification for rendering a judgment on it. The latter argument has the defect that, leaving aside the need at Lynx Point for doing one's share on group projects, the whole community is, in fact, adversely affected by a man's laziness in the hunting of large game (as was the case with Daniel).

¹ Indians in Simpson certainly on occasion do report or bring charges against one another to the authorities (game or police). A favourite trick of Simpson Indians and half-breeds is to take revenge on one another by surreptitiously reporting an enemy's brew cache or brew party to the police.

Also, Marcel, voicing an individual judgment, on several occasions disapproved of the procrastination of others on getting a group job done (such as building the schoolhouse-cabin), a procrastination often the result of too much brewing, but there was no evidence that his views were generally shared. A common accusation that appears to be levelled by each band against every other group is that "those people drink all the time" to the detriment of their general peace and welfare.¹ One's own group, however, is always held to drink sensibly and in moderation.

The two kinds of disapproved behaviour that receive the greatest attention and comment are fighting and illicit sexual congress. We have seen that fighting (sustained verbal attack or physical aggression) is invariably a product of drunkenness. Fighting is uniformly and openly condemned, and certainly it arouses the most anxiety in the social body of any disapproved behaviour.

Illicit sexual relations draw the interest of the community, but the sense of being offended appears to be limited to the spouse or parents. These individuals vary in their reactions. There were no offended parents to be observed within Lynx Point. Seventeen-year-old Eddie managed, by bolstering his courage with drink, to lose his virginity by seducing the daughter of relatives visiting Daniel. The mother of the girl, however, in her own words was well aware that her daughter "*botč* all the time," and there was no evidence that the family condemned Eddie as a seducer. Activities at Simpson suggest that parents on the whole accord their children more autonomy in these matters than spouses do each other, but individual variation is such that any generalizations are suspect. Regarding Lynx Point people, my impression is that men are more apt to be angered by their wives dispensing sexual favours than vice versa. In the two cases known to us where Lynx Point women committed adultery, the anger of the husbands was, to all knowledge, directed toward the wives' lovers, not to the wives.

As far as the Lynx Point data go, wives are more apt to be sinned against than to sin. The husbands, of course, in their visits to the fort and other communities have much greater opportunities for sexual lapses. During the field period, several incidents gave clues of women's attitudes toward their husbands' transgressions. Thérèse appeared to be jealous of Zachary and suspicious without reason. Nelly May was finally taunted into a drunken jealous attack on her husband, Karl, by the goading of her sisters-in-law, but it is doubtful that, left alone, she would have felt such a degree of resentment of his infidelity. Cora is known to have accepted one drunken sexual escapade by Marcel with indulgent amusement. The impression was gained—in regard to the women's attitude at least—that drunkenness largely pardons a spouse's misbehaviour.

¹ The Lynx Point people said this about the neighbouring Bear Creek people and other groups. The Indians from the bush villages of Bluefish and Bear Creek and from the fort said the same thing of the Lynx Pointers. A Simpson Indian told me of the heavy drinking of the Mountain Indians (from west of Great Bear Lake), and when I talked with a Mountain Indian visiting Simpson he expressed shock at the amount of drinking at that fort.

I do not know what the group attitudes regarding overt and sustained homosexuality would be. The physical sexual teasing between same-sexed adolescents and the drunken caresses and sexual play between some of the women (petting one another, lying together) at female brew sessions are ignored, or in the latter instance may be regarded as amusing by other women. (Petitot speaks of "the lewdness of so many [Slave] women, rivals and emulators of Sappho."¹) The stroking and caressing that some drunken men occasionally direct toward adolescent boys passes unnoticed, though the boy involved usually manifests uneasiness and extricates himself.² If sustained homosexual relations between adult men are established, most surely they are between trap-line partners while on the line, but I have no evidence of it.³

On the whole, behaviour problems at Lynx Point are not great. Now, it could be argued that this is because there is not a rigid or harsh moral code—a sexual transgression is a peccadillo, not a mortal sin; so also is a drunken fight with one's kinsmen. Be that as it may, we see in fact that individual physical well-being, family values, the social fabric in general are not seriously harmed by them. In no way can the society be considered to be in a state of moral disorganization.⁴

All social sanctions employed at Lynx Point are diffuse and informal. The chastisement of Arnie in "The Case of Emily's Nose" is the closest suggestion we have of explicitness of court or punitive agency.⁵ The diffuse sanctions that operate to discipline the behaviour of the individual—and their particular nature will be reviewed shortly—have force because the socialization process succeeds in its primary aim. The individual seeks the approval and fears the disapproval of the group, and this sensitizes him to the diffuse sanctions. It is difficult to say to what extent and in what areas the approval-disapproval "tropisms" are related to a sense of intrinsic right and wrong, or are superseded by it. The "shame" versus "guilt" dichotomy seems an often treacherous one. When drunk, Karl was apt to condemn himself as "bad," or ask us if we thought he was "bad," but the nature of this anxiety was never clear.

The supernatural world, of either Christian or aboriginal origin, appears to play no role in the definition of interpersonal morality or in its control⁶

¹ Petitot, *Grand Lac des Esclaves*, p. 347 (my translation).

² It may be significant that the two men of the community that were observed to indulge in this, Karl and Daniel, are both definitely the subordinate, passive members of their respective trapping partnerships.

³ Angus Sherwood, who probably has the greatest knowledge of Mackenzie Indian life of any living White, states (pers. comm.) that in his years of trapping and wintering with Indian partners he never knew of a homosexual relationship.

⁴ Some local Whites misinterpret the Indians' casual (by White standards) attitudes and actions regarding liquor and sex as reflecting utter chaos in family and social life.

⁵ There is no form of tribal council or court—government-sponsored or otherwise—to which a Slavey may turn for redress or adjudication of wrongs. It is unlikely that one could be made to function without a thorough-going reorientation of attitude on the part of the Slavey (not to mention such handicaps as the scattered population). I do not know if the government "chiefs" have any titular powers along this line; in any event, no one from Lynx Point appeals to the local head chief.

⁶ Honigmann notes that the Kaska regard insanity as a supernatural punishment for misdeeds. In his study of the Fort Nelson Slave, there is no statement on this point. *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society*, p. 150.

(See the following section). The type of diffuse control most frequently applied is that of gossip. Under this rubric fall all reports circulated about people's activities. Any gossip which either includes direct or implied moral evaluation or even which merely reports behaviour to which the socio-moral code has relevant application operates as a positive or negative informal sanction. In point of fact, direct verbal judgments on individuals' behaviour did not appear to be common (although I suspect that they are more likely to be expressed in the bosom of the family than elsewhere). From the point of view of social control, overt moralizing or condemnation in the course of gossip is not needed. "John Déné" is made sufficiently uncomfortable by the realization that the fact that he struck his wife while drunk last night is now, in all likelihood, common knowledge, since he and all the rest of the community are quite aware that this is not a good thing to do—even though it may never be so stated in so many words.

In sobriety, the Lynx Point adults appear to be very cautious about disseminating uncomplimentary gossip or opinions about others. Clearly they are so (a) when the object is a fellow-community member, or (b) when the hearer is not an intimate associate and community member. Most of the scurrilous or condemnatory gossip that we received came via drunks and, especially, children.

Gossip is the only form of control that is likely to operate on a community-wide basis. The other forms, which have been, in large part, exemplified or discussed previously, operate primarily through the medium of one or two individuals, although the effects often gain because they are supported by implicit community consensus. They are the techniques of avoidance, scolding, warning or "talking to," teasing, surveillance, and physical restraint. The last technique is invoked only in regard to drunken aggression. (The only apparently clear-cut case of physical *punishment* backed by community opinion—beyond the childhood level—that is known to me is in "The Case of Emily's Nose.") With the exception of teasing, all these forms of sanction may be imposed in response to unpleasant behaviour (or the likelihood of it) while drinking. Between adults, scoldings and physical restraint were never noted to occur except in handling drunks. Surveillance of an individual expected to commit an offence was noted to be employed only in the case of obstreperous drunks; presumably it might be applied to an erring spouse. Avoidance, of course, is practised in cases of unacceptable behaviour, including unpleasant personality traits (disposition to gossip unduly, bossiness, lying, and so forth) of any sort. The teasing of an individual in regard to a personality or behaviour defect is primarily a child's technique, or one employed by adults toward children, and is certainly effective in instilling obedience to the norms of conduct. It seems likely that some good-natured teasing carrying a slight admonitory edge would occur within the adult family group or between close friends, but I can cite little evidence for it. The "snide remark" is rarely employed between adults. The few instances noted by us occurred when the speaker had had some brew. Observing Arnie's expensive cigarette case filled with cigarettes, rolled for Arnie by his sister, Marcel laughed sarcastically, saying, "big shot."

Besides "society" in general, particular human media of social control have been identified in the earlier pages. In maintaining behaviour standards, the opinions and efforts of spouses, parents, and close relative-friends are often especially effective. The original "matriarchs" of the community (the sister-wives of Old Mink and Old David) are now recently dead, but some evidence suggests that in past years they set certain traditional, conservative standards and saw that they were maintained among their descendants. For example, they banned, via importunation, the manufacture of "moonshine"; also, they enforced the traditional menstrual and parturitional taboos among the younger generation of women—even in the case of Marcel's wife, Cora, who "never had to do that before I came here."

These particular agents of informal social control are ones that we might well expect to find in the primary-group band anywhere. There is, however, one set of agents at Lynx Point which plays a very powerful role in social control—agents who are not of the expected categories. They are the children. Their force as agents of social control stems from the fact that they are, *par excellence*, seekers and disseminators of information in general and of titillating gossip in particular, and the possibility of being gossiped about is, for a Slavey, often an effective inhibitory sanction. Of all members of the community, the children circulate most actively and freely and therefore are often among the first to pick up any sort of news. They are quick to communicate it to one another and to adult friends and parents. They do not exercise the caution toward gossip or expression of opinion that the adults do; indeed, they are avid to pass it on. Only in regard to unflattering events within their own family do they exercise secretiveness.

Children are always on the alert for exciting, amusing, or scandalous gossip, news, and events. The latter are characterized by them in English as "good shows." Since drunks are the richest source of good shows and, furthermore, are in no condition to be watchful for prying eyes, brew parties are the delight of the children. Carterette has sketched their activities at this time.

The mood of the children when they anticipate a brew party is one of pleasurable excitement. They look on the interval of drinking as a time when adults behave in unaccustomed and interesting ways, which they discuss long afterward among themselves; and they realize that the control adults exercise over them is considerably modified by the adults' divided attention and relaxed behavior. Georgie Renard, for example, replied in his Emotional Response Test that the best thing that could happen would be a brew party so that he could steal some tobacco. On several occasions the children threatened that they would perform some particularly mischievous act while an adult was drunk. Noreen and Beatrice recounted how they had sexually teased a woman who was sleeping off some brew. While Daniel was drunk, his daughter Beatrice would frequently join Liza, his wife, in pushing him around jokingly in attempts to get him to go to bed. The children, moreover, inveterate mimics, are fascinated by an individual's physical oddity or a typical behavior, and the brew party provides them with much material for this sort of entertainment. They mimic the men's convivial singing, Henri's abortive attempts to jig, the expression on Karl's lips as he sits talking drunkenly. Beatrice and Noreen on several occasions re-enacted a particular instance of sexual behavior which they had found especially entertaining because it had occurred in an upright position.

From the very beginning of the brew party there is always a small cluster of visiting children in the shadows intently watching every move. Once in a while a few of them will bound out to report on the proceedings. The women, particularly, rely on the children as sources of information, and many a woman shows up just in time to fetch her quarrelsome husband home because the children warned her that he was about to get into a fight . . . When someone has to be helped home, the women and the older girls, especially, are the ones who perform this duty.¹

The children's degree of boldness toward a drunk depends, as I have indicated earlier, on their estimate of his status-*cum*-temperament.

If the child gang suspects some titillating event that they cannot view openly, they do not hesitate to resort to spying. Children have been observed to adjust drawn cotton curtains slightly, so that later, as drinkers get drunker, they may spy on them from outside. Many sexual indiscretions arising from brewing come to light this way. Indeed, it is my opinion that within the community none remain undiscovered—thanks to the alertness and perseverance of the children.

Occasionally a child will report a tale to an individual with the deliberate intention of creating anger, injured feelings, or unpleasantness. From the point of view of adult norms, their boldness is sometimes astonishing. Noreen bragged that it was she (at about the age of ten) who informed Henri that his wife had, while brewing, slept with Henri's youngest brother, Ozzie. Often children will make up a story—"to tease." Also they may report a true tale, then cover their indiscretion by saying that they are lying. Noreen and her age-mate cousin, Beatrice, were not above devising malicious falsehoods designed to create hurt and ill-feeling. Noreen, for example, reported the following to us: Beatrice told Nelly May that when the Fort Simpson doctor had flown to Lynx Point to examine Nelly May in her last stages of pregnancy, Carterette and the doctor had joked together about the examination, and Carterette had called Nelly May "big belly." If Noreen was not deliberately lying, then Beatrice was.

Examples of tidbits of gossip and information purveyed by children are legion in the field notes. The following session from Carterette's records is more extensive and scurrilous than most, but it shows the kind of gossip in which older children love to deal—gossip that a responsible adult handles with great restraint and caution.

From the field notes:

(12 February '52) I [Carterette] invite Noreen to eat with me and she settles down to gossip, unsolicited. Zachary Ingram gets mad at Jerry [Zachary's wife's illegitimate child] when he gets drunk. Jerry has had to sleep at Big David's house on occasion because of this. Describes once more the sexual encounter between Thérèse [Zachary's wife] and Karl. It happened in Big David's house when the people were camped out in summer tents. Karl calls Jerry "my boy" and Nelly May [Karl's wife] gets mad. Noreen tells me Thérèse is "mad all the time."

¹ Ibid., pp. 75-76.

Goes on to tell me that Beatrice told Polly [Karl and Nelly May's six-year-old daughter] the other morning to tell Nelly May that Karl was in bed with Marie [a visitor]. This made Polly cry. Liza [Beatrice's mother] scolded and hit Beatrice for doing this. This morning when Beatrice was with Nelly May to visit fish nets, she hit Polly on the side of the head. Nelly May scolded Beatrice, and Beatrice called Nelly May "big belly," thus making Nelly May mad. Also tells me that when Zachary Ingram returned from downstream and came to bring me my potatoes, Thérèse called him quickly because she was jealous. This made Zachary mad.

The taunting, teasing, jibing, and insulting mimicry that the child gang inflicts on its individual members are also, on occasion and with greater caution, turned upon adults as well. Among the adults, Karl appeared to be one of the most sensitive to this, or at least the most expressive regarding it. Several times he warned us not to ask the children for information or, specifically, about Slavey words because "they will laugh at you." And, when drunk, he pleaded with Carterette to get new moccasins because the children would laugh and make jokes about the holes in her old ones.

RELATIONS WITH THE SUPERNATURAL

The Church

All the Lynx Point people have been baptized in either the Roman Catholic or Anglican faiths. In the surrounding area, the Indians of the Fort Providence region are almost exclusively Catholic, and in Fort Simpson the Catholics are in the majority.

The Oblate missionaries, who carried the Catholic faith to the North, and today maintain it, entered under some disadvantage, according to their chronicler, Duchaussois. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the Oblates began the major portion of their work, the Mackenzie country was under the direct control of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose factors favoured the Anglican missionaries. An Anglican mission had been at Fort Simpson since the early 1800's. With obvious resentment Duchaussois relates:

From 1858 until 1876 the Catholic missionary could only pay a visit to Fort Simpson and live in a tent. A Protestant clergyman, and also a Bishop, had their own grounds, with residence and church. Catholic missionaries could visit only one month out of a year. When at last, in 1894, it became possible for one of the missionary fathers to remain permanently at Fort Simpson, he found that his flock of (nominal) Catholics was only half of the local population.¹

The Oblates had earlier, in 1862, founded Providence by establishing a mission at that site with enough success that the Bay post moved from the nearby Big Island Fort to Providence. In 1902, the isolated Trout Lake Slavey were apparently the last groups of Slave to be converted to the Christian (Roman Catholic) faith.

¹ Duchaussois, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

From Duchaussois one gathers the impression that the Slavey, when cornered by a missionary, usually acquiesced to conversion but did not take up the new religion enthusiastically. Duchaussois writes:

Religiously, the so-called Slaves have been especially favored . . . Their missionaries were the most numerous . . . The Indians have not corresponded [*sic*] as they should with the graces which God sent them. Mgr. Girouard wrote of them in 1871 just what he thinks of them still [in 1923, presumably]: "These Slaves have no great vices but they have no great virtues. They are soft, easy-going, and slothful in religious matters quite different from the other Montagnais tribesmen, who are usually earnest and fervent."¹

Apparently with special reference to the Fort Liard Slaves, Duchaussois notes, "As late as 1890, Mgr. Grouard described the Slave Indians as stiff-necked, hard to convert, and quick to 'return to their vomit!'"²

Petitot presents a much more sanguine picture, one of friendly Slaveys who seek the advice of their priest and delight in his attentions.³

In the last few years, one evangelist sect has established a mission at Fort Smith, and another sect has one at Hay River. Representatives of each have made a summer trip down the Mackenzie in the last two years (1951 and 1952) stopping at each settlement, but as yet they have had no influence on the Indians north of Hay River.

Most of the Lynx Point people are Roman Catholic. The only Protestants are Cora, Marcel's wife, three of Cora's children, and Zachary Ingram. The Catholic priest at Fort Simpson has been helpful to the Lynx Point people in several ways in the past, writing business letters for them, giving short-term loans for business projects, and holding money, as a bank, for the group. The priest from Simpson visits the community one or two times during the winter months. He holds services and hears confessions at those times, using a house turned over to him for the purpose. In services directed by the priest, or even by an itinerant evangelist minister, the men assume attitudes of sober piety—hats off, heads bowed, often kneeling with hands clasped in prayer. The women, on the other hand, are much more casual, sitting on the floor, often without head coverings, glancing about, whispering occasionally to one another or to the children, perhaps rising before the service is over to tend a child.

At Lynx Point there is no group religious event except at the time of the priest's visit, unless one includes the prayers spoken at the New Year feast. When Old Mink was alive he lectured the children on Sunday, using a Catholic picture "map" of the roads to heaven and hell. Marcel recalls that as a child he was terrified by the map and the descriptions given by Old Mink. Upon the old man's death, the practice ceased. His sons still have the "map" stored away, however.⁴

¹ Ibid., p. 225

² Ibid., p. 225.

³ Petitot, *Grand Lac des Esclaves*, *passim*.

⁴ Questioning failed to elicit any knowledge of nativistic movements based on Christianity. Specifically, the informants questioned had no knowledge of the Slavey "Hay River Prophet," reported by Goddard (*op. cit.*, p. 227) to have been active at Hay River in the 1920's.

The members of the community, as a whole, are not characterized by religiosity. Certain requirements of the church—baptism, attendance at Mass when in Simpson, and an occasional confession—are observed. Heaven and hell may be referred to in joking or ironic conversation, but of God we heard no mention. Personal and intimate appeal to and communion with the Christian divinities appeared not to be practised. The idea, for example, of praying for success in moose hunting was alien to Marcel, nor could he recall that Old Mink had ever resorted to such a device. It was established that one individual, Karl, said nightly prayers and was teaching them to his son; these were standard Roman Catholic formulae. The general approach to religion is one of formalistic observance of certain activities expected by the Church. Religious attention, such as there is, is centred in the actual institutional requirements promulgated by the Church through its local representatives.

Toward the Church itself, and toward such expected activities as prayer, there is a frequently expressed annoyance, usually culminating in a little cautious back-tracking with the phrase "but a little religion is all right." The amount of prayers and the other religious observances required when one is in the hands of Church representatives—as in the hospital or at the mission school—are decried again and again. But any suggestion by the interviewer that complete rejection of the Church and its practices might be better is countered with the usual note of caution. Daniel's drunken conversation is typical:

From the field notes:

Daniel talks about his schooling and how little he learned because a third of the time was spent on his knees praying. "That school didn't teach me anything about carpentering or electricity or anything like that." If he knew anything about carpentering or electricity, Daniel goes on to say, he wouldn't be a trapper now. He tells the father this. However, when I [TC] say that in the States some people think the schools that teach religion are not as good as the public schools, Daniel adds that "a little religion is all right."

To sum up, the general tenor of thought regarding the observances demanded by the church seems to be "It's a nuisance, but it's better to be safe than sorry."

One of the two adult Protestants of the community, Zachary Ingram, was trained in the Anglican Mission school at Hay River, but he married his wife in the Catholic faith and their children are being raised as Catholics. Zachary is amenable to this. "I'm Protestant," he says, "but around here we hear that R.C. is the true religion." Cora Renard, on the other hand, clings resolutely to the Anglican faith. Her family, descended from a half-breed Cree factotum for the Bay, has a long tradition of Protestantism (which supports its higher status rating as a 'breed Bay family). Her marriage to Marcel Renard was in the Anglican church. "Marcel, when we marry, promise my mother he would become Protestant, but he fool my mother and grandmother. After we're married, he go back to Catholic." Cora has managed to

have her three oldest boys baptized Anglican, in the face of the Catholic priests' disapproval. These three children she refers to as "mine," in contradistinction to the four others who were baptized in the Catholic faith. In these latter instances, the priest arrived at Lynx Point in mid-winter and baptized the infants before Cora could take them to town for an Anglican service. Cora's refusal to marry in the Catholic church, or to "catholicize" her three Anglican children brings uncomfortable pressures from the priest upon her and upon her husband, Marcel, who values the aid that the Catholic mission can occasionally give in some of the group's business ventures. As a result, also, Marcel is denied the sacraments. But his wife remains adamant.

Of the members of the community, only Karl expressed much concern with religion. He usually reported, in virtuous tones, each time that he attended Mass in Simpson, "sometimes twice in one day." Marcel, however, explains his own and others' attendance at Sunday Mass when in town by saying, "got nothing else to do." It was brought out above that Karl says his prayers nightly, a practice taught him by his father, Old Mink. Karl goes along with the rest of the community, however, in disapproving of the Catholic hospital and school because there is "too damn much praying," with the customary partial retraction that "a little bit of prayer is all right."

Marcel probably represents the extreme end of the trend of majority opinion. He expresses considerable scepticism regarding both the dogma and motives of the Church.

From the field notes:

Marcel is "high" but not drunk . . . I [TC] ask if he would like to live to be a thousand. "No," he says. "When you die it is all over, you're dead and six feet under." I say I sometimes wonder if what the Church says about heaven and the after-life is true—what does he think? As on the previous occasion, Marcel says he thinks that is something the Church says to make money, that the father has no way of knowing—"nobody tell him, nobody come back to tell." Marcel says he told the father as much.

There is no evidence that the supernatural being and sanctions of Christianity play any vital role in the life of Lynx Point. Ideas of good and bad behaviour, i.e., morality, do not appear to be related directly to Christian precepts and concepts of divine law and punishment but are simply part of the native social expectations, some of which may have ultimately been introduced or modified through Christian church efforts.

Aboriginal Survivals¹

Many of the aboriginal beliefs relating to the supernatural have in the past decades undergone attenuation or dissipation. But some still play a lively role in daily life, and we may survey them briefly here.

¹ For a more detailed treatment of survivals of aboriginal beliefs and practices, see J. H. MacNeish, "Contemporary Folk Beliefs of a Slave Indian Band," *Journal of American Folklore*, LXVII (April-June, 1954), 185-98.

Of all the extant aboriginal folklore, the belief in *nakan* is one of the liveliest in terms of the amount of attention directed toward it. The *nakan* are mysterious people who are believed to roam the bush in the summer. When speaking of them in English, the Indians generally use the word "spy." Indeed, both Indian and White "spies" are believed to exist. The latter are in some instances identified as actual foreign agents or soldiers, such as Russians. In general discussion, however, no distinction is made between the behavior of the Indian *nakan* and the White "spies." The description of behavior appears to apply to both varieties—Indian and White. Some Dogrib Indians are identified as being *nakan*. Similarly, Indian *nakan* known as the "Lee Simon people" live near Fort Nelson, but are said to have roamed as far north as Fort Wrigley.

Nakan are to be feared only in the summer. During the winter months they live underground "like bears." . . . With the advent of spring, when the growth of foliage in the bush renders visibility very poor, the *nakan* emerge from their winter houses. Sometimes they travel alone but usually they are in groups of six or seven. There are no women *nakan*, only men who prowl through the bush and, hidden in the dense foliage, spy on villages seeking to capture women and children . . .

Nakan sometimes make their presence known in the bush by whistling, especially to women. Men often identify a *nakan's* presence by coming across strange boot or shoe tracks in the bush. Unlike ordinary Indians, *nakan* seem always to wear hard-soled footwear rather than moccasins. Nor do they keep dogs. Forest fires are sometimes attributed to *nakan*. . . .

That the fear of *nakan* is lively in most women and children is evidenced by the fact that, though intrepid in entering the bush in winter, they are timorous of it in summer. Children do not generally go into the bush in the warm months unless accompanied by adults, nor do the women enter it alone. On several occasions, the ethnologists were requested by a child or an adult woman to accompany that person on some task that required entering the bush.

The disappearance of a twelve-year-old boy of a neighbouring village about four years ago is generally attributed to abduction by *nakan*. The child was camping with an adult relative in the bush in the spring. The man left the camp for a while, and when he returned the boy was gone. Men from both communities aided in the search and followed the boy's trail for some distance. The trail eventually disappeared and after that point, it is surmised, a *nakan* captured him. Subsequent reports filtered back to the relatives that the boy was seen in the vicinity of Fort Nelson, apparently with the "Lee Simon people."¹

A series of injunctions relating to the hunting of large animals and the handling of blood are still observed. Any blood from an animal taken through the use of "medicine" is dangerous. For that reason such an animal is never skinned in the house; for, should the blood be stepped in by a woman or child of the family, that person, Karl tells us, would die. Any human blood should be approached circumspectly. For example, when a scuffle between two boys in our cabin resulted in a nose-bleed, Noreen was quick to counsel us to clean up the blood immediately because "it is not good to leave blood on the floor." The menstruating woman or the woman undergoing any discharges subsequent to parturition is a threat to the well-being of her husband and children. Sexual abstinence by husband and wife is observed. During a woman's menses she may not cross the threshold of the cabin. In recognition of this proscription the cabins are built either with a large low window at the rear or with a "little door," an opening in the wall about

¹ Ibid., p. 187.

three feet high through which the woman passes to attend to elimination needs during her period. The woman may either go directly into a brush shelter built around the little door or into the bush. They do not use the latrines lest their blood contaminate the family. The menstrual bandages are either burned or thrown at some distance into the bush.

During her period, a woman "sits down" in one corner of the house, usually next to the special exit. She does not walk around the house, nor does she indulge in even common household tasks such as washing and cooking. Her activities are restricted to such small immobile pursuits as needlework. If a couple have no children of a helpful age, the entire burden of woman's work, such as preparing dog-feed, fetching water, washing clothes, and cooking, devolves upon the husband.

On her first menses, the adolescent girl moves into a tent. Her stay, in the present day, is limited to the number of days of her period. A female relative may stay with her if the tent is any distance in the bush. . . .

Some women of the community still retire to a separate tent, even in mid-winter, for parturition and the recuperation period. After childbirth, as during her menses, a woman "sits down," remaining in one corner of the dwelling for as long as any bleeding continues.¹

A major rationale for the menstrual taboos of women is that non-observance will bring bad luck to the husband in hunting. Two other interdictions on woman are actively observed. These are the taboos against a woman stepping on or over a man's rifle or his cap. The rationale in these instances is again that they will bring the male bad luck in hunting.

In reference to these taboos it may be worth noting that the rifle is not only an objectively important possession for hunting, but is commonly employed as a phallic symbol in joking conversations. Although no such clear-cut analogic expression was observed in regard to the man's cap, certain behaviour and attitudes indicate that the cap is a more or less covert symbol of masculinity and manhood.²

The concern with success in hunting lies behind the several interdictions and observances regarding the treatment of slain animals. For example, moose bones must not be eaten by dogs. They are thrown into the river to prevent this, for it would bring bad luck in moose hunting. For the same reason the moose hair that is scraped from the pelt during the preparation of moose hide is carefully destroyed. Other injunctions involve the caribou, which must never be dispatched with a club; the black bear, whose name must never be used while hunting him (he is called *nakan* in these instances instead of his real name *sa*); the trapped lynx, which must be strangled rather than bludgeoned to death; and the wolf, which when slain must have the rifle passed under his hind leg to "fix it" so that it will continue to operate.

Most practices today regarding death are in accord with Christian customs. However, a few items of indigenous tradition appear to survive. First, tree burial is said to be still practised, but only in the case of infants who have not yet been baptized. Other persons are buried in the Christian way, with a cross at their head in the Lynx Point graveyard. The personal

¹ Ibid., pp. 188-89.

² Ibid., p. 189.

eating utensils of the dead individual are thrown into the bush and occasionally other personal articles may be left near the grave of the deceased.¹ The importance of the rifle again emerges in this situation. The dead man's rifle may not be used by any survivor unless it was specifically willed or given to that individual before the death. In default of such a bequest the rifle will "make trouble" for any man who attempts to use it, such as exploding or wounding the user.

Belief in ghosts appears to be fairly widespread, but there is a little anxiety about or interest in them. Old Denise Mink apparently was in part influenced by ghost-fear when she fled the mission hospital at Simpson after the body of her deceased room-mate was placed in a room adjoining hers. When Old David's wife died, the survivors (her husband and her daughter, Liza, and Daniel Heriot and children) temporarily vacated the house. However, the rationale given to the ethnologists was that it was to prevent the small children of the house from "missing" the dead person.

None of the present generation under fifty could be determined to have a guardian spirit. Since the guardian spirit is the basis of shamanism and most of the medicine lore, these powers have also declined. Knowledge about guardian spirits still persists among the younger adults. Marcel Renard told the ethnologists of the way to obtain a guardian spirit but denied that he or any of his contemporaries had done so. Obtaining a guardian spirit is in accord with general North American Indian tradition. During the time of puberty, boys, and some girls, first got a spirit. This is commonly done by having a dream. A good way to dream is to go into the bush for several days until one occurs. In the dream a person comes and talks to the individual and tells him where to find medicine. Upon awakening the individual sees an animal or his tracks near by and that is the mark of the being in the dream. After that a man never hunts or eats that animal.

Today, the term "medicine" is used to refer to actual plant materials which are gathered upon the advice of the guardian spirit. This term is also used to indicate inherent power or to express the concept of supernatural power itself. This power has potentialities for either good or evil. Its action depends upon the desires of the person possessing it, and whether or not he handles it properly.

With the medicine gained by the aid of the guardian spirit, an individual, if his medicine was strong, might cure, predict, or perform other magical practices. Curing by the old techniques was done by singing over a sick person and by withdrawing foreign objects from the body by sucking. Old David practised sucking techniques upon his wife (Marcel's mother), but he did not know how to perform singing over her. Marcel relates that by the sucking practices Old David kept his wife alive for seven years, and she

¹ This is doubtlessly an attenuated observance of the ancient custom of destroying the dead's and one's own property as an expression of grief. See John Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea in the Years 1819, 1820, 1821 and 1822*, ed. Ernest Rhys (New York: Everyman's Library, n.d.), p. 432.

died of tuberculosis because Old David was taken to the hospital and therefore could not help her any more. Some acquaintanceship with medicine men is recalled by the present adult population at Lynx Point. The father-in-law of one of the Loche brothers was a shaman named Gah-lia—now dead for many years. He performed a medicine song over Thérèse when she was a little girl. Marcel recalls one curing performance by old Gah-lia in which (paraphrased)

he sucked out some blood and spat it in his hand. There was something all twisted like a hair or a worm in the blood. It was alive and moved in his hand. (Here Marcel wrinkled his nose and shuddered to express squeamishness.) Afterwards, he threw it in the fire. (From the field notes.)

Marcel has seen other medicine and magical performances of this sort in his youth.

Since none of the younger adult generation have guardian spirits, they do not possess the medicine which is derived from it. However, most of them still believe in the power of medicine, and it is still possible today to purchase medicine from others. The Crees have a reputation for having strong medicine.

The foregoing topics are the main items of traditional knowledge that still play a lively role in community belief. Some fragments of other folk beliefs are still extant; for example, the belief in giant underground animals that in moving cause the earth to shake. Very few folk tales appear to be known within the community, and, according to Marcel, the telling of old folk tales has not been common since Old Mink's death. Consequently few of the younger generation know any. A good deal of miscellaneous folklore survives. Certain therapeutic beliefs and practices still obtain, as do various meteorological interpretations, and miscellaneous casual connections, such as: if one burns firewood in which bees are burrowed, the face will break out in boils; you are apt to dream of what is under your pillow or at your head; placing a bracelet of beaver fur on a child will help make the child smart like a beaver.

REVIEW: THE WORLDS OF LYNX POINT

The focus of this chapter has been on life at Lynx Point much as its members see it. The internal world of Lynx Point has, accordingly, commanded attention. Even so, the world beyond has obliquely intruded on the narrative; for, though they pass through the filter of local, community, and personal interests and interpretations, many concerns and demands of a larger society penetrate Lynx Point.

The Lynx Point Déné are ringed by three societal worlds. Beyond the band community is the regional Indian society and, beyond that, the greater world of Euro-American civilization. The immediate channels to Lynx Point from the greater world are few and are circumscribed. Mainly for the older bush Indian the disseminators of knowledge and interpreters of the workings of the great society are the immediate white personnel and the more acculturated Indians of the region. Beyond the communications that priests, traders, and

the several government officers pass on to the Indian in the line of business, the Indian derives from casual interaction and observation of the behaviour and way of life of local Whites limited examples of conduct from which he may interpret the nature of the great society and its denizens. Those who are literate and fluent in English pass on to their bush brothers what interests them and what they can grasp from their schooling, the radio, and the occasional printed matter that comes their way. Through the decades much new knowledge has filtered through to the bush Indian. Some of it is of a social and political nature. (To the Euro-American eye, of course, the Indian view is naïve, skewed, and fragmentary.) But it has always been the technological offerings that have had the most immediate impact upon the Indian and that for the Indian continue to be the lure to greater involvement with the White society and dependency on it.

Besides their willing dependency on the material benefits, the Lynx Point people recognize two other areas of immediate and emphatic involvement with the great society. To satisfy the material needs that they have developed they are committed to the world of the market. They are subject to the economic repercussions of war and peace, boom and depression, even the caprices of fashion. They fear the failure of the fur trade but have found few other ways to sell their labour. Beyond the economic pressure of the great market, they recognize their subservience to political, legal, and religio-moral demands of the Euro-American society. Feeling little ideological stake in these, the Lynx Point people on the whole evade what they can and submit to what they must.

As an atom in the great societal cosmos, Lynx Point reacts primarily to forces rather than beings. With the regional world of Indian society the relationship is humanized. In this society, Lynx Point *interacts*, within a personalized, often sociable framework. Here, also, most local Whites, to a limited and marginal extent, go beyond their official and racial roles into more personal social interchange with native society.

Kin affiliations and long acquaintance weave Lynx Point into the fabric of regional society. As the child grows he comes to identify every person along the river for one hundred miles and learns that to many of them he is in some way related. The few inconsequential economic exchanges between the Lynx Pointer and the members of the regional society often partake of the market—here he is likely to sell his extra bear, seal, or moosehide. In this regional society he finds his marriage partner, thus acquiring new ramifications of kinship.

For the Lynx Pointer the regional society also provides a bit of variety in sociable pursuits. Treaty and the tea dances, an occasional brew party or poker session with outsiders, picking up news or gossip to bring back to Lynx Point after a trip to the fort—these provide some entertainment and stimulation that life at Lynx Point does not.

Looking within the world of Lynx Point, we found life geared to the seasons and the exigencies of the subarctic environment. The Lynx Point

Déné remain directly dependent upon the raw materials of the bush—the forest and its fauna. For the present adult generation, life has offered no real alternatives. For both sexes, the prime requirement is physical endurance, often in the face of chronic illness or disability. It has been scarcely a decade since the terrible burden of endemic tuberculosis has begun to ease through government efforts. But, still, young men such as Ozzie must alternate through the years between the hospital bed and the trap-line. All girls know that before them lie recurrent pregnancies, motherhood with losses, and the attainment of the crafts of all bush wives—the endless round of washing and cleaning and cooking, of tending snares and nets, and of preserving the catch of fish and flesh, of chopping wood and carrying water, of scraping furs for the market. There is the heavy labour of moosehide preparation, and the occasional gentle pleasure of visiting with a friend or berrying with the children.

For the men of Lynx Point, even those with an interlude of schooling at the mission, there has been no escape from the trap-line, although, as the succeeding chapter will demonstrate, a first few steps have been taken. On some, with health and with skill and pride in bushcraft, the physical burden of the trapping and hunting life rests lightly. The excitement and joy of the kill is a recurrent climax of achievement to the true bush Indian. Marcel, when asked of “the best thing that could happen to you,” could only reply, “to kill a moose.” For release from daily work and cares, there is the brew party. Conviviality heightened by intoxication, “good shows” put on by others, perhaps a sexual escapade or the relief of releasing a smouldering grudge—these expectations give a thrill of adventure to brewing.

The social institutions of Lynx Point are simple. They centre about the basic and interdigitated groupings of the society—the partnership, the nuclear family, the kindred, and the primary-group bush community. The great passages of life—birth, puberty, marriage, and death—are made with little ceremony, and the culture provides few ideational tools to explain or heighten the emotional significance of these events. Much of what little formal observance or ritual there is is an imposition of the greater world. If the meanings that the world offers penetrate deeply, little evidence of it can be mustered. The one true communal rite (and one not necessarily observed in sister communities) is the New Year celebration. Here Lynx Point, under the guiding spirit of its founder, Old Mink, has borrowed from the greater world and incorporated something of native tradition to create a ritual expression of communality.

At Lynx Point there is scant graphic aesthetic expression, and that is an adjunct of the practical—mainly beadwork and embroidery. Cowboy music on guitar and fiddle is replacing the simple aboriginal drumming and singing. Neither at the fort nor, even less, at Lynx Point is dancing, native or European-derived, pursued with much interest or spirit compared, for example, to that shown by the neighbouring Déné tribe downstream, the Hare of Fort Good Hope.

The Lynx Point people are not much concerned with the super-empirical¹ of either European or aboriginal tradition. The Lynx Point condition seems to echo the lack of content and system which confounded Holmberg in his study of another simple society—the Siriono, nomadic hunters of the forests of Bolivia.² The lack among the Siriono of coherent cosmological and metaphysical understanding evidently is not due to contact with the greater world. And, although the Slavey have experienced some degree of acculturation, I see no reason, with the possible exception of a more consistent corpus of meaning once accruing to the now dying guardian spirit-medicine complex, to argue that the understandings of the social and moral relation of the Déné to the universe were more elaborated and systematic in aboriginal times.

¹ This term is used by Kingsley Davis to comprehend those areas of understanding not susceptible to empirical analysis or investigation. *Human Society* (New York: Macmillan, 1949), pp. 521-26.

² Allan R. Holmberg, *Nomads of the Long Bow*, Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution, No. 10 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950).

CHAPTER IV

THE LYNX POINT VENTURE

INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapters have described the general economic and social structure of a Slavey band—general, in that there is reason to assume that the foregoing description of the Lynx Point people serves, in gross outline, to characterize the nature of the life in any Slavey bush community. But there is an aspect of the socio-economic organization at Lynx Point that is a feature specific to that community—namely, a degree of group co-ordination that stands in contrast to the “normal” or usual socio-economic structure of other present-day Slavey groupings. I have referred to this divergency as “the Lynx Point Venture”—“Venture” because it is as yet a new, developing phenomenon and because its outcome—its future persistence and success—is still in doubt.

A series of events, activities, acquisitions, and efforts make up, collectively, the Venture. This inclusive rubric should not be taken to mean that the Lynx Point people predicate their efforts and actions as the unitary phenomenon that the social scientist identifies.

After a survey of the history of events that have composed the Venture, the new or altered socio-economic relations within the community will be examined; then, in the final section of this report, the factors that have made the Lynx Point Venture what it is will be sought.

HISTORY OF EVENTS

It was with the acquisition of the power-boat and barge that the Lynx Point Venture was fully launched. This occurred in the last years of the Second World War (probably 1943 or 1944).¹ But in certain prior events,

¹ Ascertaining the dates of events was most difficult. Zachary Ingram, the only person who might be relied on to give the correct calendrical years of more recent happenings at Lynx Point, declined to be an informant about group projects on the grounds that Marcel and Henri, as the leading Minks, should be the ones to speak of “their” community. Marcel was used as the primary informant; both he and Henri were hopeless in regard to calendrical dates, or even reliable counts of years. (In 1951, Henri stated he had been married fourteen years; in 1952 he said twenty.) One example illustrating the problems of establishing an absolute chronology, will suffice: When first questioned on the subject, Marcel said he did not know the year the team of horses was purchased; in fact, he could not recall if it was before or after the building of the barge. Many months later, he gave the year 1946 as the date. However, at another time he mentioned that the horses were purchased the same year that Karl and Nelly May were married, for Karl brought his bride from Fort Providence in that same scow that was transporting the horses to Lynx Point. Since Nelly May was at that time pregnant with Polly, who was six years old in 1952, I have concluded that the first horses were probably brought to Lynx Point in 1947.

Also, since no “books” are kept on financial matters, the sums of income and outgo presented below are usually only approximate, and some small sums may have escaped my inquiries. The men, however, have much better memories regarding money matters than dates.

the trends that characterize the present era of group co-ordination were first manifested. These events were as follows:

- (1) The extension of communal pooling and distribution of food and resources beyond that of the fruits of the big-game hunt;
- (2) The acquisition of larger-scale equipment;
- (3) The entry, for profit, into enterprises other than fur trapping.

The data elicited for these earlier years were not very elaborate, but certain major facts were established. At present, out of the several gardens in cultivation at Lynx Point, the produce of the largest one is for group consumption. This is a practice of years standing, but the time of its inception was not established. The garden is referred to as "Henri's," although apparently the White man, Andrews, first cleared the ground. The ploughing, mattocking, planting, and weeding of this potato garden were, during the period of field observation, carried on by Mink males, and Henri's young brother-in-law, Arnie. Women and children join in in the harvesting of the potatoes, which they store through the winter at Henri's house, and families send to Henri's for potatoes as needed. It was not determined whether "the Yukons", i.e., that portion of the community not of the core group, draw as freely on the supply as do the extended Mink group.

Not long after the death of Old Mink in the early thirties, Old David, then a man in his forties, built a 45-foot scow of hand-hewn lumber. This scow was of sufficient capacity to make the trip to the fall fishery at Great Slave Lake profitable. In the first years, Old David was accompanied by two extended relatives from the neighbouring settlement of Bear Creek.¹ At that time the scow was powered by means of a sail with, perhaps, some tracking. This scow was in use for about eleven years (roughly, from 1930 to 1940). After a few years the sail gave way to outboard motors, three "kickers" finally being used to propel it. Besides its use for the fall fishery, for five seasons the scow was employed to haul hay cut at grassy spots along the Mackenzie, which was sold to the White owner of a team of horses in Simpson.

Toward the end of this scow's existence, Marcel, accompanied by two other Lynx Point men, took over the job of taking the scow to the fall fishery. According to him, it was the year that he became "boss" for the fall fishery that, for the first time, part of the catch (about 3,000 fish) was sold to the Simpson Mission instead of the entire catch being allocated, as formerly, for subsistence consumption.

About 1939-40, a second scow was built to replace the first one. This scow is also spoken of as belonging to Old David, though there is no doubt that he received much aid in building it from Marcel and the Mink brothers.

¹I did not think to inquire why Marcel or Henri or Isadore Loche or his brother—as Lynx Point men and immediate kinsmen to Old David—did not go on these earlier expeditions. Possibly it was simply that these individuals, being "single men" at the time, did not experience enough economic worries to drive them to this admittedly "tough" job. Or Old David, for one of the obscure reasons in which he seems to specialize, may not have wanted them as helpers.

This vessel was also propelled for use at the fall fishery and on other jobs by three "kickers." The motors were lent by those members of the core group who owned them. After being in use only about four years, the scow met with an accident and was abandoned.

During this period the Mink core group was significantly expanded by the marriages of the two daughters of Old David to Zachary Ingram and Daniel Heriot, raising the number of Mink and Mink-affiliate males from six (Old David, Marcel, and Henri, married; and Ozzie, Karl, and Isadore Loche, unmarried) to eight.

The sort of co-operation and expansion of equipment and activities that have just been described is not uncommon in other Indian settlements or among kinsmen. But not long after the acquisition of the two brothers-in-law, those first joint activities toward a common goal began at Lynx Point, which were, so far as can be ascertained, unique in their scope and magnitude.

The Second World War brought boom times to the trappers of the north. The inflated cash income during these years opened new vistas of purchase and acquisition to the Indians. How many years Marcel or his companions may have entertained dreams of venturing into new money-making activities I could not determine, but it was not until World War II fur prices brought comparative wealth to the Mackenzie trapper that there was the possibility of easily attaining expensive equipment with which to enter new fields of enterprise.

According to Marcel, his original desire was that, by joint expenditure and effort, the Lynx Point men would be able to establish a sawmill, similar to the one in Fort Simpson in which he and other Lynx Point men had occasionally worked during the summer. But the handicaps of isolation from, and ignorance of, the proper sources of necessary equipment prevented a realization of this plan. A power-boat, however, or at least the vital element for one, a marine motor, was more attainable. With this in mind, the men of the core group spent a summer (that of 1942 or 1943) cutting and hauling cordwood which they sold to the Hudson's Bay Company (The Company still relied on wood-burning supply boats at this time). Their work brought them a profit of about \$1,000. With this sum, and a bit more, they purchased a marine motor that was available from a White living in the region. After their purchase, however, they were advised by an engineer from one of the large river boats that the engine, being "highspeed," was unsuitable for barge-pushing in the strong currents of the Mackenzie. So they returned the motor and got their money back.

The ensuing winter was very profitable for trappers; furs commanded exceedingly high prices, and there were no limits imposed on the take. The men of the core family held back their best furs until the New Year (that of 1943 or 1944) and put them up for auction to the highest bidder among the traders at Fort Simpson. The eight men received a total of over \$8,000 for these furs. Of this sum, they reserved \$1,200 for the fund for the proposed power-boat. (Presumably, each man contributed an equal amount, \$150.) The rest of the money was pocketed individually. I could elicit no

evidence that the Yukons (at that time, Old Yukon and his adult sons Lem and Bill) were denied participation in this venture, had they so wished it; but they did not join in.

The following summer was a busy one for the men of the group. Word was received that the Roman Catholic bishop of the region was willing to sell the power-boat (which was about 25 years old), in which he made his summer visits to missions along the Mackenzie and Liard rivers. Henri and Marcel set out by canoe to purchase this mission boat. It was turned over to them after the bishop transferred to his new boat. For the power-boat they paid \$1,350, the bishop explaining that the purchase price was primarily for the motor, as the hull was too old and rotten to be worth much. This same summer, the Lynx Point men of the core group, with occasional help from others, built a 60-foot barge at Fort Simpson. The lumber and other necessary items, ordered through the Hudson's Bay Company, cost them about \$1,250. Marcel was boss for the building of the barge. The implication of "boss" here is not that he imposed work discipline, such as enforcing working hours, but that he designed the barge, and explained and supervised the work to see that it was done properly.¹

That autumn, the Lynx Point men took their new "outfit" to the fall fishery. Their catch was about 20,000 fish, of which they sold half. (Their gross profit on the sale probably was between \$1,000 and \$1,500. In their recollection, the following summer and autumn were the most profitable they had ever had. The power-boat and barge, manned by a Lynx Point crew, were hired that summer to haul over 30,000 feet of lumber between Simpson and Hay River. Two trips were made on this job. The same autumn, an auxiliary scow was taken to the fall fishery, and their catch was an all-time high of 27,000 fish. The total income from hauling and fishing that year was about \$3,000. Of this, over \$1,000 was set aside for upkeep on the outfit—the Catholic mission, as usual acting as a bank. After expenses were paid, the remainder was distributed to the individual owners.

The new income deriving from the power-boat, however, was partially vitiated because, as the Lynx Point men recall, "right after we got the outfit, they closed beaver." The taking of marten was also forbidden at this time. This period is remembered as one of financial hardship, in contrast to the financial affluence of the previous years. (According to a government source,² beaver was closed for one season, that of 1945–46; marten was closed between the seasons of 1943–44 and 1947–48, inclusive. When beaver and marten were reopened, it was with the present restrictions on take.)

Summer hauling jobs, usually involving logging as well, and attendance at the fall fishery have continued through the years, with varying opportunities and profits. About 300 cords of wood were cut and sold (at about

¹Although a discussion of Marcel as a personality and as a leader will be presented in a later section, it may give better perspective at this point to inform the reader that Marcel is completely illiterate and without formal training of any kind.

²Since the Lynx Point men, as usual, could not supply me with reliable dates and time periods, I am indebted to Mr. Burton, of the Northern Administration Division of the Canadian Government (Ottawa), for providing me with exact information.

\$10 per cord) over a three-year period. About 1946 or 1947, the Lynx Point men obtained the government job of beaching the Mackenzie River channel buoys between Hay River and Fort Simpson, and in 1952, they still held it. (The government bought its own boat for the purpose in 1954.) This is done each autumn when the power-boat returns from the fall fishery. In years of few jobs and poor fishing, the power-boat is likely to no more than pay for its own repairs and operating expenses.

Both collective and individual enterprises, such as commercial logging, the hauling of domestic firewood, gardening, and the moving of heavy objects in general, were hampered by lack of traction power. In the original hopes for a sawmill at Lynx Point, Marcel had planned for a tractor to power the mill and to use for all heavy work. After the sawmill scheme was for the time abandoned in favour of the power-boat, the Lynx Point men began to think of buying a team of horses in lieu of a tractor. The Indians of the Southern Mackenzie region have had some familiarity with horses for several decades, since a team or two is not an uncommon possession of Whites at the trading forts. The Lynx Point group first asked the Catholic mission at Simpson to aid in finding a team for sale, but nothing came of it. The next year, probably 1947, a team for sale was located at Hay River through the aid of the *métis* river pilot, André Beauchamp. For \$300, the Lynx Point men obtained the team, with harness and box sleigh, and for an additional \$35 a half-breed transported the horses in his scow to Lynx Point. One hundred and sixty dollars of the purchase price came from the power-boat funds. Each household at Lynx Point contributed varying amounts to make up the remaining dollars necessary. For this purchase, the two Yukon brothers as well as the core group men contributed. While being ridden by Arnie for entertainment, one of the horses was injured and died not long after the purchase. The following year, another horse was bought from a local trader for \$100. Through an official at Simpson, the purchase price was borrowed from the government. This new horse died within a year, even before the Lynx Point men were able to repay the loan. The repayment, however, was made about 1950. Mac, one member of the original team of horses, still survives,¹ and as I have brought out earlier, he is put to use by the entire community in hauling stovewood and water, in logging, and so forth. To maintain Mac, the men, primarily of the core family, go as a group each autumn to cut and haul a barge-load of hay for winter fodder. Supplementary oats are supplied free of charge by the government agricultural agent at Fort Simpson.

The hull of the power-boat was very old and rotten at the time of its purchase, and there was always the worry that the hull might give away in the rough seas of Great Slave Lake, or when the heavy channel buoys struck its sides in the process of beaching them. In the summer of (probably) 1948, the boat owners built a new hull. The lumber and other parts were ordered through the Hudson's Bay Company, at a cost of between \$1,100 and \$1,200. The boat owners could put forward only half

¹ A letter from Lynx Point informs me that Mac died early in 1954.

of the money, taken from the group fund; \$550 was borrowed from the government through the Indian Agent. This debt was to be paid off at the rate of \$100 a year. (In 1951, as the Lynx Point men felt their finances did not permit them to meet the payment, they skipped it for that year with \$200 still owing.) The construction of the new power-boat, which consisted of a flat-bottomed hull, a semi-sunken cabin with surrounding deck, and a pilot house on the roof of the cabin, was directed by Marcel. Although he had suggested that Henri be "boss" for the job, Henri demurred for fear that he might miscalculate and "ruin" the boat. The general design followed that of the original power-boat (and, indeed, that of all comparable vessels used on the Mackenzie), but Marcel altered proportions according to his own judgment. Probably the most complex operation in the construction was the timed steaming in a home-made steam box and the bending of the fir planks for the blunt bow. This was done under Marcel's planning and direction as "boss."

About the time the new power-boat went into operation, the Lynx Point group received the job of setting the channel buoys each spring, in addition to the previously held job of beaching the buoys in the autumn.

There is one more acquisition or event that has a claim to being an aspect of the Venture, as it was examined and decided upon in terms of group economic welfare and the future of the community, although Canadian government policy was also at work. This was the establishing of the Lynx Point Area.

The present boundaries of the Lynx Point Area, enclosing about 200 square miles, were definitely set in the autumn prior to the field work. In establishing the Area, the Canadian government has replaced the former allotted individual trap-lines with a grant of land to be used jointly by all licensed trappers at Lynx Point. (One non-Lynx Point Indian is allowed, by virtue of a prior claim, to continue to exploit the trap-line that now lies within the Area.)

The establishment of the Area was first proposed to the Lynx Point people about three years before the field work period. The acceptance of the new system by the Lynx Point men came about through a misunderstanding. The men understood from the game warden that within the proposed Area there would be "no law"—i.e., no restrictions or limits would be placed by the government on hunting and trapping. The men therefore agreed among themselves to accept the Area, only to discover, of course, that all game regulations were still in effect.

There is an additional reason for their disgruntlement. The original area requested by the Lynx Point people was delineated on a map by Marcel. The boundaries of one section were reduced without any notification to them. The men accuse Joe Renard, Marcel's cousin (through his biological father) from the neighbouring community of Bear Creek, who was at that time assistant to the game warden, of being the real perpetrator of this deed. They believe that he changed the requested boundaries for Lynx Point (and for other groups as well) before passing them on to his superior. Marcel

fought for the larger area until "last fall," when he let the matter drop (apparently after a partial adjustment had been made) because "it was too damn much bother."

The larger Area was especially wanted "for the children" (i.e., the future needs of the growing Lynx Point population). Marcel is emphatic that as things have turned out, the former trap-line system would be better. He says that he has heard that the Fort Norman Indians have a "good chief"—the government has been asking those people to accept the area system, but the chief refuses to agree to it.

As the establishment of the Area brings the history of major events in the Venture up to the time of the field work, we are now able to view Venture activities in greater detail.

During the period of field work it was possible to observe or be informed of each group activity as it occurred, and usually to obtain reasonably accurate information regarding income and expenditures while the events were fresh in the minds of the men involved. The following passages present in summary a chronological account of the major events, projects, and financial transactions that occurred in 1951-52.

Spring 1951

Buoy setting. Buoy setting lasted 18 days. The three-man crew received \$9 each per day; wages were pocketed individually. (Total wages per man: \$162). The power-boat was under government hire at \$25 per day (total, \$459). According to Marcel's estimate, the power-boat made "\$175 clear," after debts, running and maintenance expenses were paid. Actually, all pay for the spring buoy setting was delayed, not being received by the Lynx Point men until several months after the job.

Summer, 1951

July 1: *Arrival of ethnologists.*

July 2: *Launching the barge.* Using the horse in addition to manpower, the men slide the 60-foot barge into the river from its winter berth at the village by means of roller-logs and cables wound around capstans.

July 4-5: *Loading and hauling lumber.* The power-boat and barge are hired to carry lumber from the (now-defunct) sawmill on the Liard River, 10 miles from Simpson, to Fort Simpson. The Lynx Point men working as labourers are paid individually; there is also a payment for the hire of the power-boat and barge (amounts unknown).

July 15-August 20: *Logging and sale of cordwood.* A wood-camp is set up about 15 miles above (upstream from) Simpson. A total of about 80 cords are felled, hauled to the river-bank by the horse, sawed into 8-foot lengths, loaded on the barge, hauled to Simpson, and sold to the Whites who had previously contracted for them. Gross profit for the total sale is about \$800.

August 1: *Signal lights*. These are installed by Marcel on the power-boat. They were recently received by air freight from a mail-order house. (The lights are a government requirement for river boats.) The total cost is \$85, taken from the power-boat funds.

August 2-10: *Firefighting*. The logging project is hindered and delayed by the draft, by the game warden, of all adult Lynx Point men at the wood camp-site (except Isadore Loche, left to hunt for and protect the women) to fight a forest fire near by. The fire-fighters are paid \$5 a day and food. The power-boat is hired (or commandeered) to haul men and supplies, for which \$75 is paid. Also, \$20 is paid to the Lynx Point group for the replacement of food taken from the wood-camp. Payment, as in the case of the spring buoy setting, is delayed for many months.

Autumn, 1951

September: *Mowing machine*. The men consider buying a second-hand mowing machine from a trader to be used in cutting winter fodder for the horse. But as the price is raised from an original \$50 to \$110, Marcel decides against the purchase.

First week of September: *Hay cutting*. Most of the men resident in the community join in the several trips to cut, dry, load, and haul sufficient hay to see the horse through the winter. The cutting trips to several grassy spots a few miles from Lynx Point are made in the power-boat, and the hay, when dry, is hauled to the village on the barge in one trip.

Mid-September: *Potato harvest*. Women and children join in digging potatoes from Henri's communal garden. Potatoes are taken to Henri's house for storage.

September 26-October 10: *Fall fishery and beaching of buoys*. The Lynx Point men and two outside helpers go to the fall fishery in Great Slave Lake in the power-boat and barge. (Two Lynx Point men remain at the village to provide food for the women and children by hunting and fishing.) The channel buoys are beached on the return trip. A very poor catch is taken at the fishery, only 920 sticks (9,200 fish). Each Lynx Point household, plus those of the two helpers receives 60 sticks for the winter. The remainder of the fish (about 140 sticks) are sold at Simpson. The gross profit was about \$225. The outfitting and running expenses for the autumn fishing expedition cost \$660. Of this, \$260 was paid out immediately, and a debt of \$400 was contracted at the Bay. This was paid later when the government cheque for the 1951 buoy-setting arrived.

November 3: *Ozzie's fine*. Ozzie is caught by the police at Simpson with a pot of brew on the power-boat. His fine is paid out of power-boat funds—"that's the way we do for anything happen on the boat" (Marcel).

Mid-November: *Beaching the power-boat and barge.* The outfit is caught at Fort Simpson in "freeze-up" and cannot be taken to Lynx Point for the winter. With a hired tractor, it is beached at the Fort for the winter for a charge of \$100, paid out of power-boat funds.

Marcel estimated that the gross income made through the use of power-boat, barge, and horse in 1951 was between \$1,900 and \$2,000. If individuals' buoy-setting pay is included, my rough estimate agrees with his, to wit:

ca. \$	900	buoy-setting
ca.	50	loading and hauling for sawmill
ca.	800	cordwood sale
	75	rental of power-boat for fire-fighting
ca.	225	sale of fish
Total	\$2,050	

My notations on major expenditures on power-boat operation and maintenance (here including general outfitting for fall fishery) show that at least \$800 was spent, but my information is definitely incomplete. Probably at least \$1,000 went toward upkeep and operation.

1952. During the winter of 1951-52, group projects are, as usual, in abeyance. During this period, however, through the medium of his literate brother-in-law, Daniel, and through Carterette, Marcel is in occasional correspondence with the Indian Agent at Fort Norman regarding the Lynx Point desire for a diesel tractor.

Spring and early summer, 1952

March-April: The Lynx Point men are given an order by a Simpson official for 30 cut, trimmed telephone poles: pay, \$265. Marcel undertakes to locate suitable trees, but before work commences the order is cancelled.

End of May: *Launching power-boat.* The power-boat is launched from its winter berth at Fort Simpson by means of a hired tractor. The \$20 charge is paid, at \$5 each, out of the pockets of the four men who originally planned to haul the boat into water by man-power. After a few immediately necessary motor repairs are made, the power-boat leaves to set buoys.

First two weeks of June: *Buoy setting.* I estimate that \$275 was the gross income on power-boat hire, and \$135 in wages to each of the three-man crew.

Last half of June: *Power-boat repairs.* A kit of tools, price \$20, and several motor parts, paint, and cable costing about \$150 were ordered through the Hudson's Bay Company in late February. These having arrived, the power-boat is beached at Lynx Point, and motor repairs and a complete repainting are undertaken. "Everybody," that is, all part owners of the boat, chipped in to buy the \$30 worth of

paint. (Ordinarily, the power-boat is repainted each year.) Other funds came from the "buoy money" of the previous year, plus the \$20 reimbursement received for food supplied to fire-fighters in 1951.

Throughout June: *Communal garden*. Throughout the month there is occasional work—plowing, mattocking, planting, and aligning rows—on the communal potato garden. Later in the summer, in several sessions, Henri weeds the garden through. Also, Karl plants potatoes in Simpson on land prepared by the Agricultural Agent for use by Indians. This crop is put in with the communal potato storage at Lynx Point after its harvest.

Late summer, 1952

Early July: *Net repairs*. For several days adult men, not otherwise occupied, wash and mend the 40-odd large nets used for autumn fishing. In other years, when the men have had more pressing chores, the mending, light work as distinct from the washing, has been done by "the old women" of the community.

July 12: *Soliciting work*. The power-boat goes to Simpson with Henri as pilot. We stop at an oil-drilling camp along the river to see if the oil company wishes to hire the power-boat. Marcel, who did not accompany the power-boat, requested that I (JH) be the spokesman in dealing with the oil "boss" about this matter (The "boss" was not at the camp, so nothing was accomplished).

Mid-July: *Treaty payment at Simpson*. Marcel talks to the Indian Agent about the desire of the group for a diesel tractor. Also, Marcel is informed that request for a school at Lynx Point has been granted, and that preliminary work on the school building under the direction of two imported White carpenters will be started immediately.

July 22: *Launching of the barge* (left on the beach at Fort Simpson the previous autumn) is carried out by manual hauling and rolling. Previous to this, repairs were made on planks broken by ice last autumn.

Hauling of school-house equipment from Fort Simpson, with the two carpenter-foremen, is done by the barge, and on the return trip to Lynx Point about \$50 is received for this power-boat job.

From July 25 into October: *As the building of the schoolhouse* affords steady individual wages for most of the men, extended group projects are not planned or sought. The horse receives a man's wage on the schoolhouse job; this is the only money going to the group fund. Offers from Simpson of \$15 a cord for cutting and delivering 60 cords of wood are rejected.

Mid-August: *Cutting and hauling of winter hay* is carried out by the men and teen-agers not employed on the schoolhouse construction.

August 23: *Hauling of equipment for an oil company* by barge and power-boat from the oil camp to Fort Simpson brings a payment of \$65. This trip also marked the departure of the ethnologists from the field.

Since leaving the field I have been informed from time to time of most of the major events at Lynx Point through letters sent me by various members of the community (Daniel Heriot acting as scribe). Those pertinent to group co-ordination are as follows:

Autumn 1952: The trip to the fall fishery yielded 19,000 fish. Of these, 300 sticks (3,000 fish) were sold at Fort Simpson at \$2 per stick; total \$600. "...We use to sell for \$1.50 but now as times are hard for us... we put the price up." (Letter from Marcel Renard, Dec. 5, 1952.)

Early Spring 1953: The Lynx Point men receive word that they will be sent a tractor in the coming summer.

Spring 1953: As the Lynx Point men are late in arriving at Simpson for the start of the buoy-setting work they lose the job for this spring.

June 18, 1953: The tractor is delivered to Lynx Point. "They just landed it and the mechanic that drove it down [from the delivering riverboat] did not even show us how to start it or nothing. So next day Daniel sees the instruction book and we made it start. . . By now we know how to work it pretty good, so we worked at the garden we cleared a few years ago [never yet planted] and we plowed with an old plow we had here quite a big piece of land." (from letter from Marcel Renard, July 3, 1953. Subsequent communications indicated that the tractor was to be only periodically loaned to them by the government administration.)

The men had hoped that the sawmill equipment would also be forthcoming, and several of the following letters voice disappointment. (A letter from the North about 1958 apprised me that Lynx Point has received sawmill equipment through government aid, but it gave no details of the transaction.)

From July 15 into autumn 1953: The men under the supervision of the two government carpenters, finish building the school-house.

Autumn 1953: About 1,020 sticks of fish are taken at the fall fishery. The amount kept for home consumption *versus* the amount sold is not specified.

There are several activities that are either planned or hoped for in the future. Each involves the use of the diesel tractor.

A large garden plot, still needing stump removal, had at the time of the field work been partially cleared about one-fourth mile from the village. This area was designated several years previously by the government agricultural agent as the best near-by land for gardening. Both the horse and the agent's tractor, however, proved to be of insufficient power to remove all stumps. Since they first gained use of the new tractor, the men have cleared and plowed part of the chosen garden site, and in 1954 planted potatoes in it.

The expansion of gardening, however, has, in Lynx Point eyes, been the most minor reason for desiring a tractor. Primarily, the tractor is viewed as the first and major item in establishing a sawmill. With a tractor, as Marcel explains, two major problems are overcome—the problem of sufficient power

for moving logs and the problem of a sturdy reliable motor to run the saws. (The power-boat engine, some 35 years old, is recognized to be too unreliable.) The Lynx Point men, if present fur prices continue, will in all probability be unable to purchase the equipment for a sawmill on their own. (As noted above, they did eventually receive the equipment through government aid.) The sawmill is, we have noted, an old desire of Marcel's. He has picked what he considers to be the best site for it at the mouth of Lynx Creek, and he believes logging can feasibly be carried on up the river, relying on the spring flood to carry out logs downstream where they would be checked at the mouth of the Creek by a heavy chain. Thence they could be hauled up the bank to the mill.

Lumber would be hauled in power-boat and barge to sell at Simpson, Hay River, and other settlements lacking other easy access to lumber. Furthermore, should the sawmill become a reality, at least Henri, Karl, Marcel, and Zachary, and perhaps eventually most of the other household heads as well, plan to construct new homes for themselves with the cheap and available lumber that the mill would produce. (The 1958 letter from Lynx Point tells me that this has come to pass.)

The tractor will make logging for cordwood sale more feasible than previously; it will lessen the physical labour of the work and allow logs to be hauled from the cutting-site to the river (for loading on the barge) much more rapidly. In former years the hauling by means of the horse was always a bottleneck and made the work unremunerating in terms of days expended, because the horse-hauling could not keep pace with the cutting.

One other "enterprise" at Lynx Point should be mentioned, one which we came to term "Henri's rock project." The facts are these: Several years ago, while on the spring hunt far up Lynx Creek, Henri, accompanied by his partner and youngest brother, Ozzie, came upon a vein of black rock in a bluff along the river. Being of a colour and texture unusual to the region, it piqued his interest, and he brought samples of it back to the village. Then began a comedy of errors. Henri got the idea that it might be a valuable ore that would bring "money for Lynx Point people." To what extent Marcel and the other men originally were actively excited over this possibility I do not know, but at least there was apparently no attempt to discourage Henri's idea. On later occasions, Marcel, in the face of my leading comments, remained staunchly non-committal, evincing neither actual enthusiasm for the project nor rejection of it. After a while, when the men had ascertained the correct procedure, they sent the rock specimens (through the aid of the postmaster at the fort) to an assay office at Edmonton. On the returning assay form, among several cryptic notations, was the stamped statement that the charge for the assay was \$3. The money sign catching their eye, the core-group men interpreted it to mean that (a) the sample had been worth \$3, and (b) that a payment of \$3 was coming to them. Naturally, however it was never received. This story was told to me two or three times. I suggested that I be shown the assay form, and Henri, after some searching, located it among his effects. It was shown to me during the early stage of

a brew party with Henri and several men of the core group present. Daniel, as was usual in such important discussions, acted as informal interpreter between the ethnologists and Henri and Marcel, so that both sides could express themselves clearly without struggling to comprehend one another through the medium of the usual pidgin English. Upon seeing the assay statement I attempted to communicate to Henri, to Daniel, and to the other men present, both in pidgin and in standard English, that the \$3 notation was a charge for service, not a statement of the value of the rock samples. Daniel, however, did not translate my repeated explanations to Henri. Probably the Slavey inclination never to argue directly with another's preconceived ideas (in this instance, Henri's) was at work here. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that all the men failed to grasp my "basic English" explanation, but they gave no sign of comprehending, or at least of accepting it. I was again sworn to secrecy, as I had been each time the topic was discussed, and cautioned not to speak of it to any one outside the core group men, and explicitly not to "the Yukons," who would talk about it to outsiders. Henri went ahead with his plan to collect a larger sample of the rock (in May of 1952), which was entrusted to me to take "outside" for analysis on my departure. This I did, giving it to a government geologist whose report explained that there was a very slight silver content, but that the vein was commercially worthless. I wrote the results to Henri (Daniel serving as reader-translator). From letters from Henri (via Daniel) it appears that my explanation as to the rock's worthlessness has been accepted.

The major points of interest for us in this episode are these: First, the episode is another example of the conscious drive for new sources of money income. The in-group anxiety toward outsiders is again illustrated, as is the avoidance of contradiction or expression of conflicting opinions within the in-group. Viewed another way, the episode illustrates the ignorance and naïveté which handicap the men in dealing with the greater world. More specifically, this project, the only one to my knowledge initiated by Henri, provides a contrast between the approaches of Henri and those of Marcel to the money-security drive "for Lynx Point people." The personalities and orientations of these two nominal "bosses" of Lynx Point will be taken up more fully later.

Review of Events and Activities

The major items of equipment that the Lynx Point people have amassed are the "outfit," consisting of the 40-foot power-boat, including the marine motor, and the 60-foot barge, and the horse(s) with harness and box-sleigh or stone-boat. (The periodic loan of the D-2 diesel tractor and the acquisition of sawmill equipment reported to me after the field period cannot be considered here owing to the lack of further information.) As accessories to the "outfit," there has been the accumulation of mechanic's tools, including such items as an acetylene torch, wrench sets, and a tap-drill and threading kit, for working with engines and metal generally. Also, many replacement parts for the motor have been acquired as needed (condensers, gaskets, rings, and so on). About forty large nets (with a total replacement

value of \$700) for use at the fall fishing have been accumulated. The steel-share plow is a heritage from Andrews, the White trapper, but of course it was unusable until the horses (or tractor) were obtained. Two capstans, each about three feet in diameter, were erected not long after the acquisition of the original power-boat to facilitate beaching and launching of the power-boat and barge (One broke, due to rot and age, during the launching of the barge in the spring of 1951). Also, a "barn" about 20 feet square with roof and walls of logs was built to accommodate the horses, and several scythes for cutting hay have been acquired (*See Table 6*).

TABLE 6

MAJOR CAPITAL GOODS OF THE LYNX POINT VENTURE

Goods	Approximate cost
Original power-boat and motor.....	\$1,350
New power-boat hull.....	1,200
Barge.....	1,250
Tools.....	150 (very rough estimate)
Replacements and parts.....	500 (very rough estimate)
Fishing nets.....	700
(3) Horses and attendant equipment.....	435
Barn.....	Little or no cost
Plow.....	
Capstans.....	
Approximate total investment.....	\$5,585

There is another item which is in part and only indirectly a consequence of the Lynx Point Venture; namely, the government schoolhouse, in process of construction at the end of the field period. The Lynx Point people have had a request in to the Indian Agent on this matter for several years. According to the statement of one official (the government doctor at Simpson), petitions by Indian settlements for local schools are not uncommon. The Lynx Point school, however, is one of the few schools in the Northwest Territories to be established at an all/Indian settlement. I cannot cite with certainty all the factors involved in the grant of a school to Lynx Point. Certainly the relatively large number of school-age children at the settlement¹ was a prime consideration. However, the industry and effort displayed

¹ As of January 1954, there were 35 children of 16 years of age or younger.

in the various phases of the Lynx Point Venture, as well as the particular physical assistance given by the community to the ethnologists in return for volunteer teaching probably counted favourably in the decision to establish a government school at Lynx Point.

The alteration or expansion of certain economic activities and the introduction of new pursuits have come about directly as the Lynx Point men have acquired the equipment cited above. Those several changes in individual economic activities resulting from the presence of these objects—such as the use of the horse to plow private gardens and to haul private water and wood supplies, the use of the power-boat by several men for a private blue-fishing expedition, the employment of group-owned tools to repair privately-owned objects such as outboard motors—are not of concern to us in the present context. Given the opportunity, the average Slavey anywhere will make use of more efficient tools and techniques. Rather, we are here interested in those new or modified activities which are primarily or in large part engaged in by the group for group benefit, for it is this approach that sets the Lynx Point community apart from other Slavey groups. The major activities at Lynx Point that fall under this classification are, as we have seen (1) the plowing, planting, and harvesting of "Henri's garden," the produce of which is held by Henri but distributed piece-meal as requested; (2) group participation each autumn by available men in cutting and hauling hay for the horse's winter fodder; (3) large-scale fishing at Great Slave Lake each autumn with part of the catch distributed equally among the households at Lynx Point (plus equal shares to outside helpers) and the remainder of the catch sold, much or all of the profit being held as a group fund; (4) logging and sales of cordwood on a much larger scale than is possible by individual effort, the profits going, in part, to the group fund for power-boat upkeep and in part being equally distributed among the workers; (5) the rental of the "outfit" (power-boat and barge), with Lynx Point labour when needed, on commercial hauling jobs; and (6) a special and recurrent type of hauling, the rental of the "outfit" with a three-man crew for setting and beaching buoys each season.

In the last three cases it is to be noted that the advantages or share of profits is not wholly communal. Part or all of the funds earned by the boat itself are held back for upkeep on the outfit; the rest of the boats "pay" is split among "everybody", i.e., all the owners. Where workers receive individual wages, as in cases (5) and (6), each retains his own pay.

Besides the probable expansion of group gardening and logging through use of the new tractor, we might tentatively add to the list another possible project, now only in the hoping stage—namely, the sawmill. Certainly, if the equipment is offered by the government (or more exactly, if the Lynx Point men are granted a long-term government loan to cover the cost of the equipment), it will be accepted eagerly. To what extent the men will be willing or able to obtain the equipment by drawing on their present meagre incomes cannot be surely predicted. My feeling is that, should boom fur prices come

again so that the equipment could be purchased without severe budgeting and sacrifice, the Lynx Point men would be likely to do so. Under present conditions it is very unlikely.¹

NEW OR ALTERED SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONS

It is convenient to view the changes that have occurred at Lynx Point in terms of three interdependent categories: (1) new material items, (2) new or altered economic activities, and (3) new or altered social relationships. So far, only data pertaining to the first two categories have been presented.

The Uniqueness of the Venture

As the first step in viewing the social relationships in the Venture, it may be well to expand the assessment offered in earlier sections that the Lynx Point Venture is a relatively unique development in Northeastern Déné society. Anthropological reports on the interior Athapaskans are few, and admittedly many of them are more concerned with the reconstruction of past culture than with the presentation of current modes of life.² But, from the material on the Indians of the Slave Lake area gathered by Mason in 1913³ and from the reports of Wheeler on the Dogrib (1914),⁴ Goddard on the Peace River Beaver (1913),⁵ Birket-Smith on the Chipewyan (in 1921-4),⁶ Osgood on the Bear Lake Indians (1931),⁷ and, most important, Honigmann on the Fort Nelson Slave (1943)⁸ and the Kaska (1943, 1945)⁹, no instances of group co-ordination of property and efforts comparable to those of Lynx Point are cited.

The negative evidence from Honigmann's materials is the most reliable in this respect: (1) both studies were done within the past ten years (of the Lynx Point study), the subjects being roughly equal to the Lynx Point people in degree of financial and technical opportunity,¹⁰ (2) as Honigmann's interests lie in the present-day acculturating Indian and in the dynamics of ethos and of interpersonal relations and organization, he is therefore alert

¹ This paragraph was written before news of the sawmill acquisition reached me.

² Early writings that are pertinent to the understanding of basic band organization and how it aligns with the Lynx Point situation will be discussed in a later section.

³ J. A. Mason, *Notes on the Indians of the Great Slave Lake Area*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology No. 34 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946).

⁴ David E. Wheeler, "The Dog Rib Indian and his Home," *Bulletin of the Geographic Society of Philadelphia*, Vol. XII, No. 2 (1914).

⁵ Goddard, op. cit. The Beaver would not be classified as interior Athapaskan, but Goddard's account indicates a basic cultural alignment.

⁶ Kaj Birket-Smith, *Contributions to Chipewyan Ethnology*, Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition (Copenhagen: 1930), Vol. VI, No. 3.

⁷ Osgood, op. cit.

⁸ Honigmann, *Fort Nelson Slave*.

⁹ *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society*; also, John J. Honigmann, *The Kaska Indians: An Ethnographic Reconstruction*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology No. 51 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954).

¹⁰ Actually, the Fort Nelson Slave and perhaps to a lesser extent the Lower Post Kaska are, in my judgment, more acculturated than the majority of the Lynx Point Slavey.

for the sort of data with which we are here concerned. In itself, Honigmann's evaluation of Slave ethos as "individualistic" and "atomistic" supports the claim that the Lynx Point situation is unusual. And Honigmann, echoed by the other investigators, treats of socio-economic organization as being exemplified only by the kind discussed in an earlier chapter—e.g., partnerships, lending, joint aid, and meat distribution.

It is on the first-hand observer of the Mackenzie River region between Hay River and Fort Norman, however, that I have primarily depended in assessing the uniqueness of the Lynx Point Venture. The three major sources are Mr. Cottrell, Indian Agent for the Mackenzie River region, André Beauchamp (pseudonym), *métis*, river pilot and lifelong resident of the area, and Angus Sherwood, a former trapper and trader who has spent several decades in intimate and sympathetic association with various interior Athapaskan groups, including the Slave. As for material possessions, it is known that the Lynx Point men are the only Indians north of Hay River to own and use horses and to possess a power-boat and barge, and they are now the first band to independently employ a tractor. The scale of the Lynx Point fall fishing activities and, in the past few years, of cordwood sale appears to be unmatched by any other individual or group among the Indian population.

The Lynx Point achievements have, of course, been made possible by *group* effort. Of the three observers mentioned, only André Beauchamp has knowledge of the internal dynamics of the group, but all three agree that the simple fact that the Lynx Point men have pooled money and effort toward group possessions and profits makes them unique. Sherwood states that he has never encountered a comparable situation and finds the co-ordination at Lynx Point most surprising since, as he facetiously phrases it, the Slaveys are by nature "all anarchists."

From the field notes:

André Beauchamp volunteers the comment that "These guys (the Lynx Point men) are a good bunch. They really work together good." (Question by JH). "Yes, I've been along this river for thirty years, and I never saw or heard of another bunch that worked together. You can't even get two brothers to work together."

The good reputation that the "Lynx Point boys" enjoy in the eyes of the Indian Agent and of the Simpson Whites is, in no small part, due to the fact that, in pooling resources and effort for benefits they could not obtain singly, they are behaving intelligently by White standards.

The Lynx Point men themselves contributed the only information received regarding an attempt at group economic co-ordination by another group of Indians.

Adapted from the field notes:

During the early stages of a core group drinking party, Daniel related to us, apparently on Marcel's suggestion in Slavey, that "Golon's bunch" (Golon being a sub-chief in the Simpson area) put \$700

together to buy a big boat like the Lynx Point men have. They got drunk, however, and all fell to quarrelling. Each accused the other of not putting in as much money as he had. "You didn't put in as much money as I did." So each man took his money back, and they did not get the boat. Daniel's tone and manner during the narrative suggested pride in Lynx Point concord as against the sort of behaviour of Golon's bunch.

Ranking and Interpersonal Relations

In an earlier section there was presented the flow of sentiment and social interaction between household heads, including its correspondence, on the whole, to the location of residences. It will be recalled that the Mink brothers proper, as well as their "brother" Marcel, occupied the centre of the community, both physically and socially. Their Mink sisters' husbands, Daniel and especially Zachary, were at one extreme of the identification-interaction continuum and "the Yukons" (Lem, Bill, and Old Yukon—Erminie and their offspring) were at the other. In that discussion, however, suggestions as to differentials in power, rank, or prestige, and as to lines of interpersonal superordination and subordination were only inferential and secondary.

Since this aspect of interpersonal relations has bearing on the activities and events of the Venture, a brief survey of the men's standing relative to one another in what we may term the rank relations of Lynx Point is in order. The pertinent questions here are: To what extent does a man influence other men? Which men? How much and by whom is he influenced? A further question—an outcome of the previous queries—is, what, in the eyes of the group, is each man's general social standing in relation to other men?

To convey the answers to these questions graphically, a diagrammatic picture of rank relations is presented in Figure 8. The rank relations as illustrated in the figure are based primarily on instances of interaction or expression of sentiments, either directly observed by us or related to us by community members, in which lines of influence from one individual to another could be discerned or were indicative of a man's prestige rating. Although doubtless some nuances and details regarding the prestige, rank, and influence of individuals are lacking in the data from which this summation is derived, I am confident that the rank relations picture is, in its major schematic outline, correct.¹ Second to the men's behaviour toward one another, the behaviour of the children (including, of course, their verbal evaluations and reports) toward the different men was a fruitful source of ascertaining the relative status and prestige of each one.

¹ My evaluations of the men's positions in the rank-relation system are impressionistic in so far as (1) only a fraction of pertinent interactions were observed or recounted out of the total taking place during the field period; (2) the roles and relationships of some individuals (most notably those of the two Yukon brothers, Old Yukon and Isadore Loche) came less under our scrutiny than did others; (3) there is reason to suppose that derogatory assessments or downgrading within the core group were underplayed; and (4) the data bearing on such intangibles as "influence" and "allegiances" do not, in any event, lend themselves to quantification.

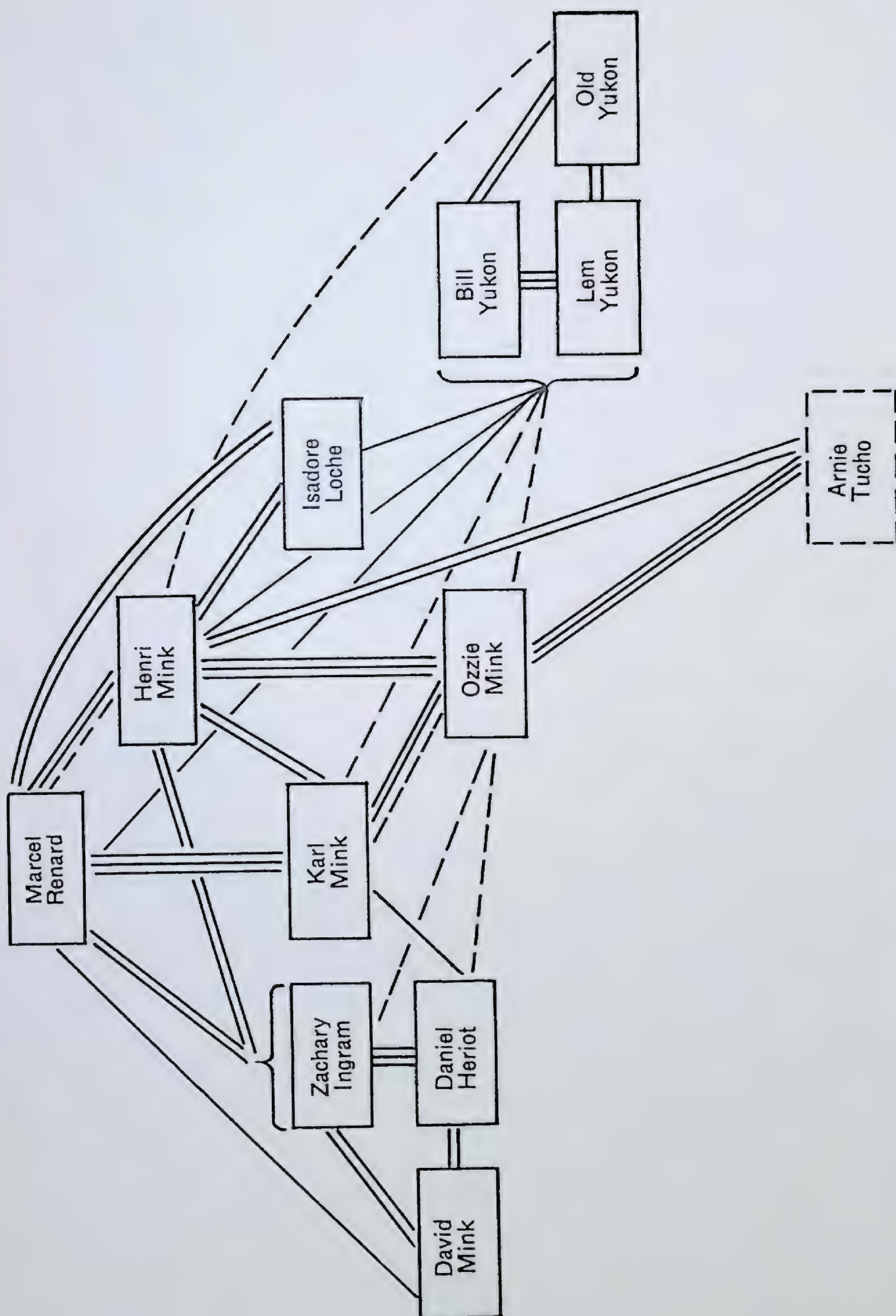


FIGURE 8.—Ranking and interpersonal relations among the men of Lynx Point.

An attempt is made in the sociogram to present several facets of social relationships among the men of Lynx Point. First, the sociogram illustrates degrees of allegiance and influence obtaining between pairs of men. Especially intimate ties, as displayed in the amount and kind of interaction between the individuals and, when discernible, the amount of affectual "weight" attached, are represented by a threefold line between pairs of men. To indicate slightly less strength, a double line and a broken line are employed. Those individuals joined by a triple line we may call "special friends." The person occupying the superior position in the chart is the dominant member of the pair. (The Bill - Lem Yukon relationship is close, but in this one instance I am not certain which is the dominant member and to what degree. Although Bill is the younger of these brothers, he has been placed in the sociogram in the superordinate position, because in the community at large he is regarded as the more reliable of the two and the one more worthy of respect.)

It is noteworthy that most of these pairs, Zachary - Daniel, Marcel - Karl, Henri - Ozzie, Ozzie - Arnie, and Bill - Lem, are in point of fact, trapping partnerships. (There is one variant: actually Henri, Ozzie, and Arnie make up a triple partnership.) It appears that if a partnership endures successfully there is apt to develop a strong sense of closeness and identification between the partners, or on the part of one partner toward the other. It may come to overshadow all other interpersonal relationships except those between husband and wife and between parent and immature child. Certainly Karl's relationship with Marcel is of this order. Karl's primary non-heterosexual emotional tie is with Marcel, not with his biological brothers. The partners Zachary and Daniel are also strongly interdependent. Zachary is heavily dominant in the relationship, Daniel assuming an affable "weak sister" role.¹

The attachments between Henri and Ozzie and, perhaps, Ozzie and Arnie, appear to be not so vital as those just mentioned. Obviously, the nature and needs of the individual personalities influence kinds and intensities of friendships. The ties between these individuals are, however, at least as strong as any others they experience with sex and age peers. Between Marcel and Henri and between Karl and Ozzie there is also much interdependency and companionship (indicated by double and broken lines).

Relationships that are steady and strong, but not of the "special friend" category, are indicated in the diagram by a double line. Here, in conjunction with the "special friend" ties (represented by the threefold line), we see the strands of sentiment and association that 'weave' together the members of the Lynx Point Venture. These strong ties (double line) include the relationship between Old David and his sons-in-law, Zachary and Daniel, and that of Marcel and Henri to the remainder of their sex-age peers in the core group.

¹ This relationship appears emotionally more necessary to Zachary, the anxious isolate, than to easy-going Daniel. Zachary is very prone to disapprove of others and resent them, but he does not ordinarily allow himself to release these feelings overtly while drunk, as do most others. But toward Daniel he can express, drunk or sober, aggression and superiority in the form of fussing and scolding without fear of returned anger.

Sociable contacts that occur with some regularity (primarily in brew sessions) but that are of significantly less importance than those treated previously are indicated by a single line. Here we see Marcel and Henri, along with Isadore Loche, as the primary links between the Mink cluster and the Yukons. Even slighter interaction and rapport patterns between individuals are represented by broken lines. This network of more minor relations, as displayed in the chart, is confusing to the eye and need not be traced out in detail, as in most instances it merely completes the linkage of each man to every other in the community. For clarity's sake I have omitted the broken lines that represent the tenuous connection of Isadore Loche to certain core group members. There are, however, several points to be made regarding the lack of contact between individuals. First, the two old men, Old David and Old Yukon (the latter deceased during the field period), appeared to circulate less broadly than the younger men. Secondly, the pair of Zachary and Daniel, as has been brought out before, ordinarily do not contact the Yukon men or interact with them. Thirdly, one strand in the web between core group males is conspicuously lacking; namely, between Zachary and Karl. It will be recalled that Karl holds a grudge against Zachary for the alleged mistreatment of "Karl's bastard" whose mother is Thérèse, Zachary's wife. The resulting situation is a most awkward one for the core group. As men who have the same major ties, i.e., to the other members of the Mink core group, Zachary and Karl are often brought together, either in work projects or in brew parties in neutral houses. But, although they both share certain common interests in the core group and on occasion are physically face to face, they do not "associate" with one another. Unless Karl erupts in a drunken attack, each studiously ignores the presence of the other.

Finally, Arnie presents an anomalous condition. Only Ozzie and Henri, within the core group at least, view him as an associate. But, like the younger "kids" with whom he often identifies himself, he "hangs around" in all core group households except Zachary's. (No one has the temerity to hang around there.) By this means he occasionally gets in on adult drinking parties. He can produce as an adult in economic pursuits, and, though not an owner, he usually is involved in core group enterprises. He is not, however, recognized as a peer by the core men, and his presence in a sociable setting is tolerated but ignored by core group men except Ozzie and, to a lesser extent, Henri. In other words, Arnie is attempting to establish more social ties with adult men, primarily for purposes of brewing, but the interest is only on his side.

The horizontal and vertical distances also have significance in the sociogram. The amount of prestige and influence accruing to each man, in other words his general social standing within the community, is indicated by his vertical placement in the diagram. Marcel is unquestionably top man in terms of the respect he commands and the influence he wields. Community consensus accords Henri second place. Indeed, as far as "lip service" goes, Henri is often granted a position equal to Marcel's, at times being referred

to as "boss"¹ and holding the title of "captain" of the power-boat. In reality, however, Henri does not equal Marcel in power and influence, and this reality is tacitly recognized by the community. As married men of the core group, Isadore Loche, Karl Mink, and Zachary Ingram and his partner, Daniel Heriot, are roughly equal in status. It is possible that Old David in his prime was a man of somewhat greater importance than he is today. I have no evidence for it, however. At present, he is less consequential than the men just cited. Ozzie Mink is definitely subordinate to all other men of the core group. His status as a "single man" (and, therefore, not a full adult) undoubtedly is a factor. He is, however, tractable and apparently well-content to occupy a subordinate status. He appears to cling to the role of youth rather than attempt to abandon it.

The Yukon men's position in the sociogram is seen from a viewpoint of the core group. They definitely carry little weight in community affairs. As far as the core group is concerned, they are also, as has been noted previously, socially suspect. But on the whole they are accepted as fellow adult "citizens." Taking all these points into consideration, I have ranked them between Ozzie and core group married men.

As I have said before, the low man in the Lynx Point status system is Arnie. At 20 years of age he is not considered by the community to be a *man*, nor does he consider himself one. His social outlook is well illustrated in his own drunken statement: "All us kids like to have fun." His youth and single status would ordinarily make him a minor figure in the community. Certain personal behaviour characteristics, such as excessive irresponsibility and drunken violence, increase his low social rating.

The horizontal spread of individuals in the sociogram, taken in conjunction with vertical rank, illustrates the social position of each man relative to the locus of drive and activity in the Lynx Point Venture. Marcel, as we shall see, is the primary creative force behind group endeavour. However, the public fiction among the Lynx Point people, as I have pointed out, accords Henri much weight in group matters. And, indeed, though not an originator, Henri is, next to Marcel, the "executive" force, if so elegant a term may be applied to his actual role as chief lieutenant and strawboss. I have therefore, for purposes of the diagram, accepted the Lynx Point coupling of "Marcel and Henri" as the nucleus of invention and activity in group matters. In the diagram, directly below Marcel and Henri, in the double centre column are placed Karl and Ozzie, respectively. In terms of the amount of time and energy devoted to activities in the Lynx Point Venture, especially with respect to maintenance and operation of the "outfit," they are second only to Marcel and Henri. In fact, Karl's efforts on the power-boat and his devotion to the requisite tasks exceed Henri's. He is not, however, accorded the "boss" status of Henri. Ozzie is expected by Henri and Marcel to aid in

¹ Daniel Heriot when drunk is often impressively sycophantic in his treatment of Henri, repeatedly calling him "boss." I am unsure whether this flattery is simply "apple polishing" or whether there is an underlying sarcastic sentiment, a mild sneer at Henri's aspirations. Interestingly, Marcel is never so addressed.

almost all power-boat enterprises, and he "obeys" willingly. Unlike Karl, however, he shows no initiative, and he expends considerably less effort than does Karl.

Zachary, Daniel, and Isadore are acknowledged full-fledged participants in the group Venture. They contribute, however, significantly less time and effort than the first set of men and no specialized skill. This is especially the case with Zachary and Isadore. Daniel is somewhat more active, mainly in occasionally filling a couple of special roles as amanuensis and as "engineer." (Special job roles will be presented more fully in the succeeding section.) Old David is even further removed; he does no work on group projects (being too old and weak), nor is there evidence that he concerns himself with the planning or the future of the Venture. It is questionable that he ever did. Again, Arnie is in a special category. In activity, he is roughly equal to Daniel, but he has no voice in policy and no financial investment in Venture possessions. He is usually willing to work, and therefore receives his share of the profits on various group projects. His position as Ozzie's friend and Henri's brother-in-law probably gives him special entrée. His half-brothers, the Yukons, could presumably enter into the Venture in the same fashion, if they so desired. Their participation, however, is limited to fall fishing, haying, and occasional odd jobs such as helping out on boat launching.

In terms of each man's amount of effort and contribution in the group-coordinated projects, the Lynx Point men may be ranked in the following order (from greater to lesser):

Marcel
Henri, Karl
Ozzie

Daniel
(Arnie)
Zachary, Isadore

(the Yukon brothers)
Old David

The Lynx Point Venture in Action

The foregoing survey of status relations between individuals in part anticipates the present section which fills in some of the data that contributed to the account. We are here concerned with Lynx Point Venture in action, that is, how things get done. First, let us survey each kind of event that involves, to a greater or lesser extent, group co-ordination, with a view to noting the tempo and organization of work in each and seeing whatever special roles may be present.

Activities Involving Group Co-ordination—

Power-boat operation. The power-boat (with its barge) is the major material achievement of the Lynx Point Venture, and it figures prominently

in many of the group economic enterprises. Also, it is in the maintenance and operation of the power-boat that the fullest consistent differentiation of labour occurs. In the activities arising from the operation of the power-boat, we see characteristic group performance, but in its most complex form.

The age of the power-boat motor demands frequent repair and overhaul. At the beginning of each summer season, the motor has an initial tune-up, and new parts ordered during the winter may be installed. During the course of the summer, also, several further lengthy repair and adjustment sessions may be necessary. In these matters Marcel is in full command. He diagnoses the motor's ailments, prescribes the remedies, and, employing the power-boat reserve fund, makes the necessary purchases. The other men know of Marcel's diagnoses, but there is no evidence that they ever dispute his decisions or expenditures. Marcel also undertakes all the motor repairs. Karl frequently serves as assistant or second mechanic under Marcel's mentorship as chief mechanic.

In the maintenance of the wooden hulls and super-structures of the power-boat and barge, participation is more general. Activities in this maintenance include beaching in the autumn and launching in the spring, repair or replacement of weakened boards and other kinds of carpentry work, and cleaning, painting, and caulking. No special knowledge or skills are required for these activities, and many of them can be performed on an individual basis with little or no advice or supervision. However, in beaching and launching, which require co-ordinated effort on the part of several men, the immediate directing is usually done by Marcel. No extraneous orders are given, however. Most of the time the men realize what is needed, and the work proceeds silently. Henri sometimes operates in the capacity of a sort of lieutenant or second-in-command in these events, perhaps setting the pace for the work, observing one part of the activity to see that it goes correctly while Marcel watches another part, or sometimes Marcel consults him regarding a problem that has arisen.

For beaching and launching activities requiring group action, a time for the event is casually established,¹ and the men that are available begin to assemble at the appointed time of day. The Yukons and also any outsiders who happen to be present may contribute their man-power. Work on the upkeep of the "outfit" that is individual in nature proceeds largely according to the discretion of individuals once the job or series of jobs has been defined by Marcel, and group discussion and a rough time period has been set. The workers are limited to those men who own a share in the "outfit," plus Arnie. (One exception is Old David, who, although an owner, never works on the "outfit.") Each man contributes his labour as his free time dictates, along with his individual inclination and sense of duty. Thus they

¹ I suspect that the appointed time, e.g. "tomorrow about six o'clock" for many events of this sort originates with Marcel, but the word gets around and is accepted so casually that its origin is seldom discernible. On a few occasions Marcel indicated that he had set a schedule, in his own mind at least.

drift to and from the work at different intervals and seldom are there more than two or three at work at one time. As we noted earlier, Marcel, then Karl and Henri, devote more effort than the others. Except for Old David, Zachary and Isadore do the least.

Perhaps some concrete illustrations are needed here to provide the reader with a clearer understanding of the generalities just presented. For this purpose a series of items adapted from the field notes follows:

June 6, 1951. *Launching the barge* (observed and recorded by Richard S. MacNeish). The barge was on long log runners behind the village on Lynx Creek. It was on the second terrace, about 20 feet above the river. By the use of a car jack, log rollers were placed under the barge. This was done mainly by Marcel with the assistance of Ozzie Mink. Others brought up the rollers and placed them where directed. Henri drove the horse in the hauling of the large logs and then later assisted in putting the logs in place. Next, a long rope was attached to the back of the barge. On Xavier Nelson's (a visitor) suggestion, this was wrapped around a capstan post. Then the barge was pushed forward about six feet (down the slide), with Marcel checking the rollers. Then more rollers were placed in front, and the process was repeated. At the third pushing, a rope was attached to one side near the front so that the boat would swing parallel to the river as it slid in. Then a small number of men held the rope that was attached to the back of the barge and looped around the windlass. As the others pushed the barge, the first group slowly released the rope.

Marcel and Henri stood more or less to one side but really did little directing other than saying to let go of the rope and let the barge slide fairly rapidly into the water. Once the barge was in the water, two of the men brought the power-boat, from its position about 200 yards up in front of the camp, up to the barge. There they were joined by most of the younger men who helped guide the power-boat to push the barge. The barge was pushed up the creek for about one-fourth mile. This was done because (according to Henri) the warm water up Lynx Creek farther from the Mackenzie would allow the wood to swell more rapidly.

While operations went on with the power-boat, the remaining men sat around at the slide and watched Henri guide the horse in pulling the longer slide logs up from near the water. Then all sat around for a while with Henri talking to me. Finally, as Marcel collected the tools, Henri jokingly asked what we were all waiting for and drove the horse off. The rest then straggled back to the village. About twelve men (including teenagers) had participated in the work.

The following set of entries are taken from a description of extensive power-boat repairs that took over two weeks during a period of relative inactivity.

June 18, 1952

Marcel tells us that they will start work on the power-boat tomorrow. Will put in new rings. The rings are "wore," that's why the engine fails (as it did) when the boat slows down. Also, will paint outside and inside. Different men for outside and inside work. Marcel and Karl will work on the engine. (I'll) "give them three days" (to get the job done), Marcel says, laughing.

June 20, 1952 (from 10:45 a.m.)

Marcel starts off by telling us how he wants to pull the power-boat onto the beach and work on it today, but it is too hot. When he says, a little later, that Daniel's relatives are leaving tomorrow, we remark how it would be good to get the boat up while the visitors are here to help. Marcel says that's why he wanted to do it today, but Karl was too drunk last night—"don't feel so good this morning"—try to do it tomorrow morning.

June 21, 1952 (afternoon)

Men and horse pull the power-boat on shore. Marcel and Henri work in hip boots on either side of boat. Karl, Ozzie, Isadore, Arnie, Daniel, and Eddie pull, place rollers, and so forth, according to directions given by Marcel. The boat is pulled ashore by a block and tackle arrangement. Marcel and Henri occasionally confer with one another about the placing of the rollers under the boat (underwater). All directions to others (when to pull, when to work with the lever, and so on) come from Marcel. Boat is pulled up, stern first, till most of it is out of the water. Then others sit and rest while Arnie washes the outside walls with mop (to prepare them for painting).

June 23, 1952

Marcel worked on the engine of the power-boat all day today. Evidently quit about 9 p.m. Marcel says the outside of boat is now freshly painted; the inside is not, because the motor is still apart—it is too dirty to paint inside. He will put the motor together again tomorrow.

June 24, 1952

Marcel and Karl are working on the motor of the power-boat today.

June 24, 1952

Ozzie is sitting by the beached power-boat. I(JH) go and talk to him. He says he wanted to go blue-fishing but "I have to work on the boat motor." (Waiting now for Marcel?)—Yes.

June 25, 1952

Marcel completed work on the motor of the power-boat in the early afternoon today. Ozzie and Karl were helping him. The boat was taken for a trial run after the motor was finished.

(Next, Old David's scow is put in the water by all the men of the core group, and then in an hour or so drinking commences in Henri's tent.)

June 28, 1952

Henri has been caulking the seams of the deck of the power-boat for several hours. I(JH) go down. Henri says "Marcel say" to fix the floor before painting it. Bonny, Henri's wife, is scrubbing the floor in the engine room preparatory to painting. "When paint?" Henri says: "Wait till Marcel comes back tomorrow, he'll say." (Marcel has gone on an overnight hunting trip up Lynx Creek.)

Karl's wife is helping Bonny inside the cabin. Karl went with Marcel.

June 28, 1952

Noon: Daniel asks if we have a small paint brush. They have painted out the old name on the power-boat and are going to paint in the new one. (This change of name has been pending since last fall, because under its old name, "bad luck" came to the power-boat in the form of Ozzie being caught on it with a brew pot by the police. The new name finally selected was contributed by Daniel and involves a play on words on the name of the community.) Daniel says he is drawing the letters first in pencil so they'll "look good."

Afternoon: Daniel letters on the new name with a T-square. Ozzie paints it in.

July 2, 1952

Marcel comments that there is "nothing to do till Treaty"—that is why he is working on his fish-net today. Boat repairs and painting have been completed except for a small roof patching job. Marcel says they may go to Simpson a few days before Treaty in order to fix the barge (beached there last autumn). (Question by JH.) "No, not much work to fix it. Just take out a couple of broken boards, put in new ones."

Ordinarily, it is known several days in advance that the power-boat is to be used. The circumstances vary, of course, depending on whether there is a hired-job schedule to be met or whether the project is one of Lynx Point's own, such as a haying expedition or a trip to Simpson around Treaty time. In the latter case, the time or date of departure may be changed one or more times, the schedule being adjusted to accommodate individual needs, procrastinations, or changed circumstances. A tight time schedule is scarcely considered sacrosanct, and even when hiring out on a job the Lynx Point group may not keep to the schedule assigned them. Because of late arrival at Simpson in the spring of 1954, they lost their buoy-setting job.¹ Marcel, however, has been observed to feel the pressure of time demands imposed by an employer. If asked the day before when the departure of the power-boat is to take place, Marcel or Henri will usually state an hour, such as "nine o'clock." Actually, "before noon" would be a more realistic reply. The process of preparing to leave in the power-boat usually covers two to four hours. On a "nine o'clock" departure, the men breakfast and often tend to a

¹ This information comes from a letter from Lynx Point.

few chores after arising. Then, one by one, they drift to the power-boat with their first load of personal baggage. One may return to his house for a while to tend to some matter there, or perhaps simply to sit waiting. Another may wander about the power-boat. A third may squat watching on the beach. Often two or more trips, between house and power-boat and barge are made before departure—to pick up personal items that were forgotten in the first load, to complete a household task, or perhaps for no discernible reason. In this casual loading and assembling, no one hurries anyone else along, except perhaps when one of the adolescent boys (such as Arnie, Eddie, or Harry) is the cause of undue delay. The boat will leave when the last man is ready and at his own time.

In running the power-boat, there are two important jobs, that of pilot and that of "engineer." The pilot, as the name implies, sets the speed and steers the course of the vessel from his position in the pilot-house atop the cabin. In the engine-room cabin, directly below the pilot-house, the engine is placed. On account of the age and capriciousness of this motor, one man, the "engineer," must keep himself available so that he may quickly attend to the engine should it start to stall, overheat, or otherwise give trouble. Which men fill these positions depends in part on the composition of the crew on any particular voyage. Either Henri or Marcel or both are present on every voyage. When Henri and Marcel are both present, Henri is likely to pilot most of the distance, and Marcel to attend the engine. When Henri is absent but Marcel and Karl present, as is frequently the case, Marcel often pilots and Karl serves as engineer. Karl occasionally pilots. With Marcel's absence, Ozzie or Daniel¹ serves as engineer for Henri. Ozzie frequently pilots if Karl or Marcel is present to be engineer. Arnie likes to pilot, and often does in mid-voyage. When landing, departing, or otherwise performing a delicate manoeuvre, Marcel or Henri usually takes over the wheel from any other who may be steering.

Marcel, Karl, or Ozzie takes on the job of cranking the engine by turning the heavy flywheel of the engine. After one man has swung the wheel 15 or 20 times without success, another will relieve him. On at least one occasion, Marcel called Arnie to the job. Arnie is recognized to be powerful and is pleased to display his strength on "tough" work.

In summary, Henri, Marcel, Karl, Ozzie, and Arnie work as pilots. Probably Henri spends the most hours at the job in the course of the season; the others contribute in the order named.² Marcel, Karl, Ozzie, and Daniel serve as motor attendant or "engineer." The frequency is in the order named. If most or all of them are on the power-boat, they often casually relieve one another in the course of the journey. Isadore, Zachary, and Old David do not serve in either capacity. Neither, of course, do the Yukon brothers.

¹ Marcel stated on a couple of occasions that Daniel "knows about motors." From our observations in the field, however, we obtained no evidence that Daniel ever helps in motor repair.

² This seasonal estimate does not include pilot-labour on the fall fishing expedition. Inclusion of this event would probably put Marcel's man-hours ahead of Henri's every alternate year, as will be apparent in the following discussion of that event.

The only other activities that regularly occur in the course of the outfit's operation are casting-off, mooring, bilge-pumping, and general tidying. To cast off or moor, all free hands handle the long poles kept for the purpose, pushing the boat away from shore into the current, turning it to avoid snags and rocks, or bracing it to prevent a crash landing. If not piloting, Henri is consistently the one who unties the mooring rope and leaps on the departing bow, and he jumps from the bow to shore to moor the vessel upon approaching the beach. Apparently this is merely a personal predilection on his part. Accumulated bilge water is usually pumped out of the power-boat and barge before departure and occasionally during the course of the trip. Whoever thinks of it does it. Often the adolescents, such as Harry and Eddie, take this job upon themselves. If no one else has seen to it, Karl is likely to do the job. Marcel and Karl do not like to see the cabin-engine room untidy or dirty. Karl has complained about Arnie's messy habits in this respect. Marcel may tell one of the adolescents to take the broom to it. Karl often sweeps and tidies on his own account.

The fall fishery. The fall fishing expedition to Great Slave Lake is perhaps the most important enterprise in which the outfit is used. The nature of the undertaking has been described in earlier pages (Chapter II). Usually all but two of the Lynx Point men (including the Yukons) go on the expedition. The two who remain behind hunt and attend snares for the families of all. Besides the Lynx Point complement, two or three volunteers are selected from applicants from other communities. Statements by Marcel indicated that he usually does the choosing, after talking it over with Henri, basing his decisions on the man's quality as a worker. The total crew thus is made up of about ten men (eight Lynx Point men and two outsiders).

The major figure in terms of rank or special role is the "boss" or "captain" for the fall fishery. This position is filled by Marcel or Henri. Previous to 1950,¹ Marcel was always "boss" for the fall fishery and was "captain" of the power-boat. As Henri, however, objected to this situation, he and Marcel since that time have alternated yearly as "boss" for the fishery. I was unable to gain any account of the reasons and circumstances regarding Henri's "rebellion." (I did not press this matter, fearing to arouse suspicion and resentment.) I suspect that envy and wounded vanity lay behind it, perhaps coming to a drunken eruption at Marcel during a brew party. Daniel and Arnie refer to Henri as "captain" of the power-boat, and to Marcel as the "mate," i.e., the second-in-command. This suggests that originally the command of the power-boat may have been transferred to Henri unconditionally. Speaking of the yearly alternation of command, however, Marcel has commented that it is done that way because "that's what Henri said" (i.e., desired). Again conjecturing, I suspect that Henri coveted the title of "boss" of the outfit more than he desired the continual responsibility

¹ Here again I have had to establish the date from Marcel's statement in the early months of 1952 that the change took place "two years ago."

for it. Presumably, it was this situation which gave rise to the gossip among Simpson Indians that Marcel had been deposed as "boss" of Lynx Point in favour of Henri.

In years when Henri is captain for the fall fishery, Marcel remains behind at the village, and vice versa. The boss of the fall fishery serves as pilot much of the time (and in Marcel's case, as engineer). Piloting in the rough waters of Great Slave Lake calls for more knowledge and judgment regarding wind and waves than on the Mackenzie. The boss also sees that an adequate supply of "grub" is aboard, that the nets are properly placed in the fishing area, the barge properly loaded as the catch comes in—in general, he operates as an overseer of the enterprise. This is not to imply that the boss actively "bosses" very often. All the crew know, in most instances, what needs to be done.¹ There is, of course, an "engineer" in casual attendance on the motor while it is operating. A part-time quasi-specialist during the fishing expedition is the cook. Arnie served in this capacity during the autumn of the field period (1951), and in Marcel's opinion did a poor job. In ordinary circumstances all the men aboard visit the nets twice a day. They work in pairs, two men to a skiff. There is no significant differentiation of labour here.

Buoy setting. In buoy setting, the power-boat alone is used. It carries a three-man crew as well as André Beauchamp, the *métis* river pilot. All are in the employ of the Federal Government on this job. Beauchamp is the technical chief, responsible for directing the probing of the channel at the source of the Mackenzie and the placement of the boulder-weighted buoys (channel-markers). He leaves the boat, which is proceeding downstream, at Providence, and the Lynx Point crew complete the trip to Simpson alone, placing a few more buoys on their own. Either Marcel or Henri goes each year, serving as "captain," i.e., taking the nominal responsibility of operating the power-boat and seeing that the job is completed.

Since only a three-man crew is hired, and each man receives and pockets individual wages (\$9 per day in 1952), it is understood that "the crew changes every year." Actually, however, Daniel was on the crew two consecutive years (1951 and 1952). Also, upon being questioned, Daniel and Karl stated that "Marcel will say" who will go. Presumably taking the alternation-of-crew into account, Marcel himself merely stated that whoever wants to go, goes. In other words, policy is not firmly formulated. Indeed it need not be, as the following analysis shows. Only seven men² are eligible by virtue of being power-boat owners. Isadore, a staunch "bush Indian," appears not to be attracted to this kind of work; Zachary is usually moving to Simpson at this time to take his customary summer employment there. (The two Yukon brothers do the same.) Of the remaining men, if Marcel goes, Henri does not, and vice versa. That leaves Daniel, Karl, and Ozzie from

¹ Since, as women, we could not accompany a fall fishery expedition, information as to activities and special jobs is limited to statements by informants. I have had to infer more than I should like, as detailed statements were not to be obtained. The Lynx Point people are poor verbalizers regarding processes of group activity.

² Old David is eliminated because of age.

whom the remaining two crew members will be taken. In 1952, Karl early decided that he could not go, because, he sadly related, as a "married man" he could not afford the expenditure of the monumental spree at Hay River, which is the highlight of the buoy-setting trip. On those rarer occasions when there are excess candidates, Marcel, and public opinion, would doubtless settle on the change-of-crew proviso. A point of interest here is that, upon explicit questioning, Marcel is designated as the authority, although consensus and circumstance, as is so often the case in group enterprises, obviate the need of appeal to authority.

Logging. Since the acquisition of the outfit, the Lynx Point men have spent part of several summers cutting and hauling cordwood. We had an opportunity to observe them at this type of work for a three-week period in the summer of 1951. Three possible sites were known to them, one on the Liard about 15 miles from Simpson, and two at about equal distance from Simpson on the Mackenzie. On a trip to Simpson, the Mackenzie sites were viewed by Marcel, Henri, and several of the other men. While at Simpson, Karl and Ozzie made a trip to investigate the Liard site. They reported that it was not a good one, and it was agreed that one of the Mackenzie locations was the only site where the desired combination of burnt-over (i.e., dry) timber close to the river-bank could be found. The composition of the wood camp included Marcel, Henri, Karl, Daniel, Zachary, Isadore, and Old Yukon (then still living) with their families. The Yukon brothers, as is their custom, stayed on their summer job at Simpson. Old David was in the hospital. Ozzie, a tubercular, entered the hospital upon the departure of the band for the wood camp. (Ozzie later stated that it was Marcel and Henri who decided he must obey the doctor's wishes and submit to hospitalization.) The working crew at the wood camp thus comprised all the boat owners (except the two hospitalized members) as well as the four oldest adolescent boys—Arnie, Harry Yukon, and Eddie and Abel Renard. Old Yukon was, like Old David, never expected to contribute labour because of age.

During the course of the logging, Arnie and Harry, Karl, Daniel, and Zachary departed for Simpson at different times. The main reason in each instance was to take an ailing infant to the doctor. The drafting of most of the men for fire-fighting slowed work greatly for a week. The three adolescents, Eddie, Harry, and Abel, worked more than usual that week, helping the only two adult men left, Isadore and Henri. Thus, as in most Lynx Point projects, group work and individual contributions fluctuated in response to circumstances.

In the logging operation, there were five sequential steps: felling the trees and lopping branches; transporting the logs to the river-bank (one-fourth mile) by means of the horse and stone boat; sawing of the logs at the river-bank into eight-foot lengths; rolling the lengths off a ramp built of logs, from whence they fell to the water's edge; and loading the logs into the barge.

The log ramp was Marcel's idea, and he undertook its construction with the aid of two or three others. Sawing, whether felling trees or cutting cord lengths, was usually done by pairs of men, with a man on either end of a cross-cut saw. The other kinds of labour—driving the horse and stone-boat, pitching or rolling logs down the ramp, carrying logs from the foot of the bank into the barge—were ordinarily single, not joint efforts. Except for driving the horse and stone-boat, two or more men usually worked at the same time on these jobs, simply for the sake of companionship. On at least one occasion, however, Karl was observed throwing and stacking logs in solitude. When and how long a man worked was "up to him," in Marcel's phrase; no boss routed him out for a certain number of hours on the job. Whether a man worked at felling trees back in the bush or at sawing, pitching, or loading at the beach was also "up to him." If the execution of one of the jobs was lagging, however, he would probably work at that. Despite the fact that no formal rules of work were in operation, certain casual patterns were evident. For one thing, certain men tended to go to work at the same time, i.e., work together, though they might not work jointly (e.g. on the saw). Here "friend" relationships were manifested: Daniel and Zachary, Marcel and Karl. Two or more of the adolescents tended to work at the same place at the same time. Also, although observations were insufficient to allow a definite statement,¹ it appeared that when Henri and several other men were working at a particular job, Henri tended to set the tempo of work, being the one to initiate the rest period and the recommencement of labour. The others followed his lead. A sort of vague work schedule emerged for the following reasons. The heat during the middle of the day forbade the use of the horse at that time. It also somewhat discouraged work by the men. The horse, therefore, was likely to be worked a couple of hours in the morning, then released till evening when he was worked from about seven until it grew too dark, around eleven. The men also worked most consistently in the cool of the evening, despite the fact that the mosquitoes are worse at that time. During the day, their chores—rabbit hunting, visiting snares, perhaps gathering and sawing firewood for their wives—took precedence over logging. Often the earlier part of the morning was spent at chores; then a man might work on the logs for an hour, spend the afternoon puttering and resting, perhaps putting in another short work session, and then in the evening contribute his greatest effort on the logs.

Special work roles can barely be discerned. Regarding felling, length-sawing, pitching, and loading, to give concise terms to the various activities, men filled the jobs according to a combination of inclination and the progress requirements of the work. Karl or Henri usually took charge of the horse and stone-boat. Henri perhaps operated at times as a pace-setter on the job. Marcel undertook special jobs as well as regular labour at logging. Besides erecting the ramp as an aid to labour, he attempted, aided by Karl, to

¹ As the labourers were on and off the job at different times, and the work was going on at two locales, one a quarter of a mile back in the bush, we could not keep all men and activities under consistent observation.

build a wheeled vehicle out of old parts collected at Simpson and elsewhere, which was to speed-up the hauling of logs by the horse. The effort was unsuccessful, however, and he finally settled on repairing the stone-boat.

The horse and haying. Ordinarily, the horse, Mac, is employed for group purposes only in the summer. His use at this time for such tasks as hauling logs or launching and beaching the outfit has already been described. During the winter each man individually employs the horse to haul water and logs for firewood. There are no specially assigned jobs regarding the care of the horse. Mac has his small log barn where hay is available to him. It is understood that after someone has finished working Mac for his own purposes or on a group enterprise, he will feed the horse a small quantity of oats from the bags supplied by the government agricultural agent.

Each autumn the Lynx Point men must gather the horse's winter supply of hay. This takes place in early September before departure to the fall fishery. Since Mac is owned and used by all adult males, the men and the older boys are expected to join in this chore. In the autumn of 1952, Marcel commented that the Yukon brothers, who had spent the summer in Fort Simpson, had "better get back" to Lynx Point in time to help with the haying, since they owned and used the horse, too. They did not return in time to help, however. Haying can be done only when the patches of tall grasses growing in near-by creek mouths have dried and no rain has fallen for several days. In the course of their visits to nets and snares the men note the progress of the grass. Once conditions are right, the men agree that they will have to go haying soon, but, as with other projects, such events as hangovers or individual trips to Simpson may upset a casually established date for cutting hay.

It usually takes at least two full days of work to cut sufficient fodder for the winter. Three or four plots are cut. Sometimes the men may stay overnight at one of the sites. They travel together in the power-boat from plot to plot. Extra canoes are taken, and from time to time men are likely to go off from the job singly or in pairs to visit nets, hunt rabbits, look for bear sign, survey other patches of grass, and so on. In haying, the men work in pairs, one man wielding the scythe, the other spreading the cut grass to facilitate drying. They switch jobs from time to time. Pairing appears to be casual, according to need and inclination. A man or a pair of men drop out to rest from time to time, and others, already rested, take over the work.¹ So far as casual observation served, Marcel, Henri, and Karl appeared most often to be the ones to initiate a move toward "getting on with the job" after a meal or general rest period.

After the grass is cut, it is left to dry for about a week. Then the men return to the several sites with power-boat and barge and load the hay, using improvised canvas slings. At Lynx Point the hay is transferred, with Mac's aid, to the barn.

¹ On one occasion, Karl timed the working of the pair of which he was a member and of the alternate pair, so that each team worked alternately at twenty-minute intervals.

The communal garden. The communal garden that was in production during the field period is known as "Henri's garden." Its produce (potatoes) is stored in Henri's house and is given out by him, upon request, to the various households. The plowing and planting of the garden and the harvesting are group enterprises. In the latter activity, women and children as well as men participate. In plowing and planting all men available at the time are supposed to aid. (The Yukons by this time are usually gone for the summer.) In the summer of '52, Karl Mink did the plowing, and it is probable that (although long-term data are lacking) the Minks or Marcel, or both, handle this job yearly. Henri was the only person to weed the garden in '52. The seed potatoes for that year were bought by Marcel and Henri—each bought 200 pounds at \$7 a hundred and paid for them with their personal funds. Marcel stated that group funds are never used to purchase seed potatoes, nor has the group ever "chipped in" to pay for them.

The clearance project on the new, larger communal garden at the mouth of Lynx Creek had been under way for two or three seasons. In 1952, some stumps still needed to be removed. Marcel and Karl were the only men who worked on this job, putting in quite a few hours in the earlier part of the summer. Sometimes they went to work alone in their spare time, sometimes together. When he and Karl first started this work in the spring, Marcel, in response to a series of questions, explained how the work was to be done. Henri would continue the work when Marcel went buoy-setting. "Everybody" present at the time would help him. When the Yukons returned from Simpson in the autumn they would work too. There was no set standard of contribution of labour among the men. How much each man worked would be "up to him." (It was indeed—no one except Karl and Marcel put in any time on this project that summer.¹)

It has been previously noted that in 1952 Karl planted potatoes in one of the plots provided by the government agricultural agent at Fort Simpson. This crop was to be added to the communal potato pool after harvest.

Distribution of beaver and marten seals. Quotas on the take of beaver and marten are in effect in the Lynx Point Area and surrounding region. Government seals are distributed to the trappers by the game warden, and no beaver or marten pelts may be sold or purchased without an affixed seal. The Lynx Point community as a bloc was allotted 210 beaver seals in 1951.² This allotment was predicated on (a) the estimated number of beaver lodges in the Area, and (b) the number of registered trappers exploiting the Area. As Old Yukon was still living that year, there were twelve registered trappers at Lynx Point. An additional ten seals covering the Lynx Point Area were allotted to Old Jim Weasel, who does not live at Lynx Point but has always taken his beaver in what is now the Lynx Point Area.

¹ As the diesel tractor was received in '53, the clearing of the land was completed in that year and the next, and the garden was planted in potatoes in 1954.

² This grant of a bloc of seals which could be used by all members of the community, rather than each trapper receiving an individual quota, was one of the advantages that led to the decision at Lynx Point to take the status of an Area rather than to continue holding individual registered trap-lines.

Marcel receives and holds the beaver seals allotted to the Lynx Point Area (including the ten for Old Weasel). As the men prepare to sell their pelts, they visit Marcel and request seals for them. The men agree among themselves what the equitable number of seals allowed each trapper within the community should be. In '51, distribution of the 210 seals among the registered trappers was not equal: Old Yukon and Arnie, as members of the same household, were entitled to 10 seals each; Ozzie, as a single man without wife and family, was entitled to 15; Old David, with only a wife to support, also received 15;¹ the remaining men, all household heads, allotted themselves 20 seals each. By the time of the beaver season in 1952, there had been several changes in community personnel, and the allotments were altered accordingly. Old Yukon had died the previous autumn, and in consequence the Lynx Point Area quota was reduced to 200 seals. In the intra-community distribution, Arnie, Old Yukon's step-son, became the oldest male of the household but continued to receive only 10 seals. However, upon a request from Old Yukon's widow, Erminie, their eldest son, Harry, was allotted five seals, although he was too young to register as a trapper. Thus Erminie's household received a total of 15 seals. Old David was now a widower, and in consequence his seal allowance was reduced to 10. Marcel's eldest son, Eddie, was now old enough (17) to register as a trapper² but too old to bring family allowance cheques to the family. He was for the first time allowed five seals out of the community total. Ozzie was allotted 15 seals as in the previous year. The remaining men granted themselves 19 seals each (accounting for 197 seals with three left over).

Further adjustments in seal allotments may be made. Some Lynx Point trappers may take more beaver than their allotted share of seals. In this case, if there are any men who have not filled their quota of beaver, their unused seals are used by those who have pelts in excess. These latter are then able to sell their pelts and keep all the profit. Should some Lynx Point men still have excess pelts after all Lynx Point Area seals have been used, then the trapper with excess pelts individually seeks out other trappers from outside the community who have excess seals. In these deals with outsiders, the seal-holder is given part of the profit from the sale in return for the use of his seal. A trapper will, of course, tend to use his allotted seals on his best pelts, for he may or may not be able to obtain seals with which to sell the less valuable pelts.

Marten seals are not issued, as are beaver seals, to the Lynx Point Area as a bloc but are issued in the name of individual registered trappers. In recent years, some Lynx Point men have been entitled to five marten seals apiece and others to ten, depending on the location of their respective trap-lines. Despite the fact that the marten seals are in the names of individuals,

¹ Old David probably used very few, if any, of his seals, since he was taken to the hospital in the early spring. His wife (Marcel's mother) died after Old David went to the hospital and before the arrival of the ethnologists that summer.

² I do not know why this new registered trapper, Eddie, did not, in the eyes of the game warden, replace the deceased trapper and entitle the Lynx Point Area to as many seals as in the previous year. Perhaps it was because Eddie is not a household head. Marcel had talked to the game warden in an attempt to keep the 210 seal quota for Lynx Point.

Marcel collects from the game warden the seals allotted to the Lynx Point trappers and gives them out to their "owners" as needed. Also, it was Marcel who dickered with the warden for a ten-seal rather than a five-seal allotment for more of the men, on the grounds that their lines ran into the ten-seal quota region. (In this instance Marcel was falsifying.) Some men's lines are not rich in marten, and they commonly have an excess of seals. In contrast to the handling of beaver seals, at least, men with marten pelts in excess of their quota buy seals from those Lynx Point men holding unused ones rather than receive the seals free. The fact that the marten seals are issued individually rather than in a bloc to the community is probably the rationale behind this practice. Unfortunately, investigation of this point was overlooked during the field period. Actually, the Yukons are the men who consistently do not get their quota of marten. And during the field period it was Zachary and Daniel who were buying seals from them at \$5 each. It will be recalled that these two sets of men are at opposite ends of the social interaction continuum. Whether men in intimate association, say, partners such as Daniel and Zachary, would sell rather than give seals to each other is questionable. Owing to the nature of the marten take, the question would seldom arise.

Liaison. There remains one other type of activity serving group ends, namely, that of liaison with persons and organizations of the greater (White) world in the course of promoting or carrying out group enterprises. The agent of this liaison is Marcel, exclusively. In this role he serves as spokesman for Lynx Point in dealing with or petitioning White authority. It is Marcel who negotiates with game officials on such points as the demarcation of the Lynx Point Area and the quota of beaver and marten seals. The past requests for advice and banking facilities at the Catholic Mission were carried out by Marcel. He speaks for Lynx Point, in person and by letter, to the Indian Agent requesting money loans (as in the case of the building of the powerboat and barge) or equipment (e.g., the diesel tractor, sawmill equipment) or other kinds of benefits (e.g., a school and teacher for Lynx Point). He is the contact man regarding jobs involving the use of the outfit and the labour of several Lynx Point men, as in general hauling jobs and in the cutting and sale of cordwood. Usually, Whites needing a job done will seek Marcel out; occasionally, Marcel initiates or pursues the business contact, as in the case of hauling for the oil company in 1952.

Daniel occasionally serves in a passive capacity as amanuensis or interpreter for Marcel. On several occasions Henri has been approached regarding jobs by Whites, usually in Marcel's absence, but this situation is not one sought by Henri. There is no evidence that Marcel's assumption of the role of liaison agent has ever been coveted or challenged by other men of the group. Given the Slavey personality mode, it is a job to be shunned.

Summation of Special Roles and Behaviour—

We have seen that certain men consistently or commonly enact special roles. Marcel contributes to group enterprises, as a whole, more thought, more

time, and more energy than any other member of the group. He is the sole liaison agent, the chief mechanic, engineer and designer, and the overseer or boss of group enterprises, except on those occasions when Henri takes over this position, mainly as pilot of the power-boat or as "Captain" at the fall fishery. Besides serving as overseer on jobs when Marcel is not acting in that capacity, either owing to his inadvertent absence or to agreed-upon retirement from the scene, Henri also, on occasion, carried out the role, vague and undefined as it is, of pace-setter and lieutenant to Marcel on group labour jobs. Finally he is the disburser of the potatoes from the communal garden. Karl, in practice although not in title, is second mechanic and engineer and general right-hand man to Marcel. Ozzie is third in line as motor-attendant and mechanic-helper to Marcel. Daniel serves as scribe and interpreter for Marcel in negotiations on group matters. Daniel also occasionally fills in as motor-attendant. Any of the above men, along with Arnie, may serve as power-boat helmsmen, but the final responsibility for piloting resides in Marcel and Henri. Zachary, Isadore, and Old David are co-owners of the outfit and members of the core group; however, the first two contribute only undifferentiated labour, and Old David does not participate at all.

What are the main characteristics or tendencies in general group work behaviour? Participation in group projects is casual and relatively unstructured. Hierarchical and authoritarian arrangements are at a minimum. In the eyes of the participants, there are (a) Marcel and Henri, seen as the bosses, and (b) everyone else. There is an underlying understanding that one should do one's share, personal circumstances permitting, but there are no formal commitments or requirements and no formal sanctions. Typically, specific jobs are not parcelled out to specific individuals. In the main, special work roles may be characterized as follows: certain individuals have assumed occasional or consistent responsibilities toward some aspect of group work; from the point of view of the group, these are a matter of *de facto* acceptance, rather than assignment. This is only an approximate rule, however. Certain qualifying factors may operate. Although Marcel's and Henri's positions as real and putative leaders, respectively, are in no sense an obligation of their age and kin status,¹ the fact that they are older men of the founding core family gives a certain covert support to their assumption of leader roles. Also, we have seen that on one occasion an assumption of responsibility—namely, that by Marcel as captain or boss of the power-boat—was not granted the validation of continuing universal support and that, as a result, the responsibility, or at least the title, was temporarily withdrawn from him. Another qualifying factor is in the form of casual selection of one individual by another. Marcel has placed Daniel in the position of scribe for the Lynx Point Venture by simply casually turning to him for reading, writing, and interpreting. Since Marcel is liaison agent, his personal choice for amanuensis

¹ Old David's position shows this. He is the oldest of the core family, but there is no evidence that he ever sought or was expected to display any sort of leadership in the Venture. On the basis of age, Isadore Loche also has priority.

therefore becomes group scribe.¹ Karl's position, not openly defined, as second mechanic may be partially explained in the same way. However, because of his own interest in mechanics and his general desire to be approved of by Marcel, Karl has, in contrast to Daniel, quite actively sought this role. Marcel would doubtlessly be happy to train anyone else (Ozzie, for example) who displayed Karl's drive and aptitude. Finally, although the evidence is not ample, there is some suggestion that on occasion Ozzie's labour is called for by Marcel and Henri in a relatively direct manner—that is, they decide he can be of use, let him know his aid is expected, and Ozzie obliges. Ozzie's quasi-adult status would encourage this treatment. Also, there are a few hints that Henri occasionally handles his non-adult brother-in-law Arnie in a similar fashion.

Regarding specific, immediate tasks in group labour, it may be said that in general each man recognizes what actions are now called for and proceeds to select and carry out one task or another. To give a final example of this approach: If the men are attempting to push the power-boat off the beach, some station themselves on the proper side of the boat (downstream) and push out and against the current with poles. Others brace their backs against the flat bow and thrust up and back. Some wait to see if and where their strength is needed, at the bow or on the poles, before joining in. The men who are starting the trip as pilot and engineer move to their places when they are needed. The whole launching may take place without a word being spoken. If, however, labour at a task is not foreseen or volunteered or is unduly delayed by any of the men, Marcel quietly speaks to one or more men as needed, telling what is required. In Marcel's absence, Henri as alternate boss, would do the same. But Marcel is on hand on most occasions. In the majority of those few instances observed by us when Henri was in the position of lone boss (usually as pilot of the power-boat), no bossing was needed or done. There were two occasions observed by us where Henri, in Marcel's absence and by Marcel's expectation, was in a position to organize and give at least minimal direction to a job—the roofing of our cabin in the autumn and clearing of the new garden in the spring. In both cases Henri never got the work started.

From the foregoing accounts of the Lynx Point Venture in action, the role of "boss" has emerged. To encapsulate its character (and we are here concerned with the enactment of the role, rather than the contretemps between Marcel and Henri over the title *per se*), it is a condition of self-assumed responsibility, rather than of power. This responsibility encompasses planning and occasional immediate operative decisions—i.e., the application of thought and judgment to both the immediate problems and larger aims of the Venture—and it requires of the boss the most continual concern with

¹ Besides Daniel, Zachary and Arnie are used by other individuals in a private capacity. Marcel states that Daniel always writes for him because Zachary does not write so well. Apparently, penmanship is meant. Actually, Zachary is more fluent in English than is Daniel. The fact that Zachary is of a somewhat touchy and recalcitrant disposition, which carries over into his opinions regarding group matters, may have led Marcel to avoid asking his aid. It would affront Marcel's dignity to turn to Arnie for aid.

the projects in operation and the most intellectual and physical contribution to them. Successful execution does bring a certain vague power to the role—i.e., a degree of prestige, influence, and informal authority. But there is no definition or allocation of specific, operative powers to the boss. He has no special rights by virtue of his role, either in terms of extra material rewards or in terms of formalized demands or controls to be exercised over others.

Innovation and Decision—

The modes of innovation and decision in group matters remain as a final point for consideration. Unfortunately, data on this area of activity are not rich. There are several reasons for this. As no situations calling for major decisions arose during the field period, there could be no direct observation in that realm. Informants, because of linguistic limitations or lack of interest and ability in elaborating on matters of social interaction,¹ or both, produced little verbal information on the subject, either in the form of specific illustration or of generalization. Even the course of interaction on current group interests, all of a minor nature, was difficult to chart because inter-communication was casual and was carried on in Slavey. But the basic difficulty lay in the realm of Slavey ethos and manners—the obliqueness and covertness by which Slaveys feel out the attitudes of others, indicate their own wishes, and finally arrive at consensus. Leacock's description of Montagnais-Naskapi behaviour and the field worker's resultant frustration so well characterizes the Slavey situation that I cannot forego quoting it here.

As far as I could see, decision-making on such important issues [as whether or not a family group would change bands] was a most subtle process—indeed an enigma to the field worker schooled in competitive hierarchies—whereby one found out how everybody concerned felt without committing oneself until one was fairly sure in advance that there would be common agreement. I was constantly struck by the elusive nature of the continual effort on the part of the Indians to operate together unanimously, but informally, in the direction of the greater individual satisfaction without direct conflict of interest. The frustration this occasioned me as a field worker will, I am sure, be familiar to those who have studied similar peoples.²

The basic points regarding innovation and decision at Lynx Point could be grasped, however, this in itself being in part a reflection of the unusual conditions at Lynx Point. Marcel is credited by the community with the idea of obtaining a tractor and sawmill by pooling the financial resources of the group, the equipment to be employed by the group for group benefit. The power-boat, barge, and team of horses were merely more practicable substitutions for the original plan. Although the details of consideration and decision on these projects are lost, it is clear that Marcel was the prime innovator and a major force behind them. Again, details are lacking regarding

¹ Zachary, the only man who is both a clear expositor and a fluent speaker of English, was directly requested by me to serve as an informant on the history of the group co-ordination at Lynx Point. After avoiding me for about ten days, he finally, with courage bolstered by drink, came to me and explained that he did not want to talk about Lynx Point, that I should ask Marcel and Henri because it was "their" community, not his.

² Eleanor Leacock, "Matrilocal in a Simple Hunting Economy (Montagnais-Naskapi)," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, XI (Spring 1955), 37.

the decision to relinquish individual trap-lines and accept a communal trapping area. It is commonly described as "Marcel thought that . . .", and it was Marcel who carried out the negotiation with the game warden, including the demarcation of the Area for Lynx Point. From present-day relations and interest among the men, it is reasonable to suppose that Henri and Karl were active supporters of all these primary innovations. (Ozzie's support would be assumed by his elder "brothers," and he would dutifully contribute his verbal assent, effort, and money as needed.) The personnel making up the joint ownership of the outfit and of the team shows us who were eventual supporters of these schemes, but not the course of consideration and decision.

During the field period, decisions on group projects were of a relatively routine nature. One sort of routine decision that occurs is whether and when to take on a group job. "When" is determined primarily either by the employer (as in the case of power-boat hire) or by the season (as with the fall fishery). Within this time frame, as we have seen, Marcel is likely to set a rough schedule, with minor adjustments or delays being made to accommodate individual interests. There is usually no question whether to take a job or not, unless other profitable work is afoot. (Logging, because of the slow and arduous nature of the work, is a partial exception. Early in 1952, the Lynx Point men had already reached the understanding that they would do no logging that summer if there was any hope of other jobs, and Marcel turned down several logging requests on the part of Simpson Whites.) Marcel, in his eagerness to have work for the power-boat, sets the pace, and there are always enough men interested to make up the necessary crew.

Should any question arise regarding the desirability or feasibility of a proffered job for the outfit, it is Marcel who renders the final decision, as the following incident shows. Henri and two other men took the power-boat to the fort while Marcel, resting from a previous trip, remained at Lynx Point. At the fort Henri was sought out by local Whites who wished to hire the power-boat, the barge, and a crew to haul parts to a helicopter stranded up the Liard River. The job involved a heavy load for the ageing barge and required skilful navigation of dangerous rapids. Henri would not render a decision but, instead, immediately returned to Lynx Point to lay the case before Marcel, who decided the job could be done (with Henri as captain-pilot), and the matter was settled.¹

The other major kind of routine decision is on expenditures on the outfit. Regarding operational expenses, the established custom is that for group projects such as the fall fishery, the necessary funds are taken from the spring buoy money payment or from other moneys earned by the outfit. When the power-boat is used for quasi-individual purposes, such as to carry several families of the group to the fort, the individual men involved contribute equal shares for expenses. It has already been demonstrated that the judgment as to what repairs or new installations are needed on the outfit comes from Marcel.

¹ Actually, the work was never undertaken, because by the time the power-boat, with Marcel accompanying it as negotiator, returned to the fort, another boat had been hired for the job.

Marcel has described the procedure on routine problems, such as power-boat expenditures and job ventures, as follows: Marcel plots out in his own mind what he thinks should be done. He then discusses the situation with Henri, and the two of them agree upon a course of action. The course agreed upon is the one put forward by Marcel (and this indeed appears to be the case in most instances). Then "we," Marcel and Henri, tell everyone else what has been decided. One member of the core group, Zachary, resents this. He complained to the ethnologists that Marcel and Henri do everything their own way and will not listen to "other people" who are more "educated," i.e., Zachary.

The news of these decisions originating with Marcel and Henri often filters casually from person to person. Or, if prompt dissemination is necessary, Marcel may visit several houses, one after the other, to tell the latest plans, or send one of his children with the message. These are the same techniques that are used when individual projects arise, such as a trip to the fort, on the basis of which other people may wish to make plans, such as giving a shopping list to the traveller.

The brew party, however, is the major medium of communication. We have seen that it is the only social event that regularly draws most of the men (and sometimes women) of the community together into a face-to-face group relationship. In the earlier stages, before sodden drunkenness sets in, the brew party is characteristically the time for general conversation and discussion on all points of current interest, from the coronation of Queen Elizabeth to the details of Karl's last moose kill. Ideas, desires, and schemes relating to the welfare of Lynx Point are aired, and any recent plans or decisions of Marcel and Henri are brought up at this time. Even if they are already known to the community-at-large, they are reintroduced. There is nothing formal or peremptory about such announcements. They are fitted into the relaxed, conversational mood of the gathering. The introduction of such a topic may be by one of the men other than Marcel, since the filtering process has often already occurred. A conversation frequently develops on the topic.

In observing a brew party conversation of this sort (as, for example, the one we did on a discussion of the minor problem of when and where to do the communal haying), the impression is gained that the mood is one of easy participation and minor contributions in the form of reiterations, comments, and suggestions. Zachary's deeply resentful statements indicate, however, that Marcel and Henri want pretty much their own way and that only minor suggestions, not demands for major revisions, are pleasing to them.

THE ETIOLOGY OF THE LYNX POINT VENTURE

Introduction

Why has the Venture come about, and why has it taken the form that it has? The preceding pages have been an exposition of the what and the how of that set of group-oriented activities that comprise the Venture. The

attempt may now be made to delineate the forces that have shaped that phenomenon and to comprehend the nature of their interplay and contribution toward the end product.

There can be discerned five factors that have been of first-order importance in the development of the Venture. Two aspects of traditional Slavey culture are deeply and especially pertinent: the nature of customary socio-political organization of Slavey society and the concomitant emphasis of the ethos. These joint forces are, as part of the traditional way of life, the cultural foundation upon which and through which the other forces have acted.

The next two forces share the realm of immediate impetus. Factor three comprises the immediate and conscious group-held motives that have promoted the socio-economic experiment at Lynx Point. The impingement upon the Déné world of the Western World's technology and its economic institutions and their vagaries constitutes the fourth factor.

The final factor lies in the realm of the non-modal or idiosyncratic components of personality, the prime element in the Lynx Point situation being the personal equation of Marcel Renard.

The Traditional Cultural Base

The lack of complexity of northeastern Athapaskan institutions is nowhere more striking than in the realm of socio-political organization. Our paucity of information in this realm must therefore be attributed not only to the scant number of interested observers but to the fact that there was so little to meet the eye, especially of a formal or regularized nature. The correspondences between the Slavey and those other northeastern tribes—Hare, Satudene, Mountain Indians, Dogribs, Yellowknives, and Chipewyans—are so close in essentials that we may, in order to uncover the Slavey tradition, judiciously employ the data available on these northeastern Athapaskan groups as a whole.

The summation here made of traditional northeastern Athapaskan socio-political organization is derived from a fuller study that has been published elsewhere,¹ and passages from that study are incorporated freely into the present exposition.

If the realm of the political in Northeastern Déné society is to be considered capable of investigation at all, it must be conceived very broadly. Accordingly, any social group beyond the nuclear family is here considered to have a political aspect whenever there are present aims, interests, and concerns predicated in terms of that group—i.e., policy—that are accompanied by actions, co-ordination and role and power differentiation, however slight, within or by that group designed to promote those ends.

¹ J. H. MacNeish, "Leadership among the Northeastern Athabascans," *op. cit.* This article was originally intended to be part of the present work. As the very paucity of pertinent data, however, demanded that a rather lengthy treatment be given, it was decided that the study was much too long and digressive for inclusion here, as it would have seriously impeded the flow of exposition.

The nuclear family . . . the kindred, and certain territorial segments that may best be designated, in descending order of inclusiveness, as tribes or macrocosmic groups, macro-assemblages, and bands, are the social units that crosscut the Northeastern Athabaskan peoples. This classification applies both to the historical past and to the present, if it is granted that some of the characteristics of the present-day territorial segments differ somewhat from those of earlier counterparts.¹

The tribe, the macrocosmic group, and the total kindred are of only minor significance in the present problem. The tribe and the macrocosmic group were never very important in Athapaskan life. The macrocosmic group (or, as he terms it, the "macrocosmic band") is a distinction made by Honigmann² to refer to regional groups within a yet greater regional group, the tribe. Both of these classifications are in large part constructions of the anthropologist. Both are broad classifications of scattered peoples into territorial-linguistic units. Seen from the inside, i.e., from the Déné's point of view, they are poorly delimited units, composed of peoples with which the Déné may feel a more or less vague sense of affiliation. The scope of this sense of affiliation was doubtlessly more circumscribed in earlier times than it is today.

At the tribal level,

. . . we know that in earlier days the lack of sense of affiliation with, or, more emphatically, the sense of being in opposition to certain other groups was sometimes actively manifested in hostilities against others. This negative expression is the nearest thing to political behavior that we have . . . There is evidence that some inter-band recruitment and co-ordination between segments of a tribe might occur for purposes of warfare. A statement by Back, however, indicates that in some of the retaliatory warfare between tribal groups the kindred was the social unit involved in the aggression. In any event, it is plain that consistent or all-inclusive tribal-wide co-ordination or integration in regard to external relations was not the case. This condition has its parallel in the lack of any sort of actions, co-ordination and role and power differentiation regarding intra-tribal matters. The tribe had no internal affairs in the political sense. . . . To all knowledge, even the government invention of regional "chiefs" and councils, has so far effected no significant change or innovation in the political orientation of these Athabascans at the regional or tribal level.³

¹ Ibid., p. 132.

² Honigmann, *Fort Nelson Slave*, p. 64.

³ MacNeish, "Leadership," op. cit., pp. 133-135. Some of the sources from which I have drawn these conclusions are, *in re* inter-tribal hostilities and intra-tribal recruitment: Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey in 1819 etc.*, p. 257; John Franklin, *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the Years 1825, 1826, and 1827* (London: John Murray, 1828) p. 10; Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales Fort*, pp. 174-179. *In re* the kindred in inter-tribal hostilities, "[Two Indian acquaintances] informed us that, in a dispute between a Chipewyan and their countrymen, the Yellowknives, the former had been killed; but as he was an orphan, no one would avenge his death." George Back, *Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition to the Mouth of the Great Fish River, and along the Shores of the Arctic Ocean in the Years 1833, 1834, and 1835* (London: John Murray, 1836), p. 162. The evidence for the lack of tribal political structure is, perforce, negative. The studies of contemporary anthropologists support this conclusion, e.g., Honigmann, *Fort Nelson Slave, Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society*, and *The Kaska Indians: an ethnographic reconstruction*. In the earlier literature, Franklin (*Journey*) circa 1820, presents the richest material we have on relations between parts of a tribe, but we can discern no tribal-wide political structure or leader.

The nature of the "political" as here conceived is sufficiently broad to allow the consideration of kinship units under that rubric. In social relations generally, kinship, as Lynx Point has shown us, is quite important.

In Northeastern Athabascan society, however, the main significance of kin affiliations, politically speaking, is that they serve as the "in," the entrée to band units. Bilateral descent is the rule in Northeastern Déné society, the kindred being the resultant kinship unit . . . The kindred has no "shape" or boundaries and, as a correlate, no political manifestation such as kin leaders or power hierarchies, or collective interests, activities or goals. We do have some record of the practice of blood revenge in earlier times and of adjudication of wergild, but apparently only sets of primary relatives or band-kin segments are involved, not total kin groups, i.e., the kindreds, *per se*. Indeed, the latter situation would usually be socially impossible.¹

It was in those territorial segments that were actual physical groupings that a political aspect might be evinced, even though at an exceedingly primitive level.

. . . There were apparently two sorts of groups. First there was definitely the basic unit, the band—a group of people who travelled and camped together, sharing the take of large game in common. A single nuclear family might sustain itself as a discrete territorial and economic unit apart from others for an indefinite period of time. This condition may be taken as the extreme of population minimality of the local group. More commonly, several nuclear families grouped together to pursue their livelihood. The number of families involved might range from two or three to perhaps a dozen . . . There were no formal ties or commitments to bind the component families to the band. Any family might part from the group, either to go it alone or to join another band as economic circumstances and/or personal inclinations directed. The group was therefore relatively unstable; personnel altered and bands fragmented and coalesced. . . . these bands were composed of kindred, in all likelihood with a linkage of primary relations extending between all the families composing the small bands . . .

The band had a sort of corporate life that commonly extended over a continuous and relatively long interval of time. The other type of grouping was intermittent and brief in nature; it was also characteristically larger than the band, drawing for its personnel either selected members from several bands or several band complements in their entirety. The several varieties of this type of grouping I have called macro-assemblages.

In historic times, one sort of macro-assemblage was what Hearne calls "the trading gang"—a number of men assembled under a "chief" for the purpose of selling their furs through him as intermediary with the traders. All those Indians, under several "chiefs," who traded into a particular fort came to be another sort of macro-assemblage . . .

Other kinds of macro-assemblages continued from aboriginal times. For the edge-of-the-woods peoples, large-scale caribou hunts drew together people from several bands into a camp prior to break up into small hunt groups. Apparently, sometimes, as in the case of trading bands, the aggregation was limited to older boys and men. Some of these peoples in the wooded Mackenzie area drew together seasonally in large groups to exploit fish runs. A generation and more ago in the Simpson-Providence region they travelled to Great Slave Lake for fall fishing, gathering for a time in a great camp above Providence, enlivening their stay with gambling games, songs, and dancing.

¹ MacNeish, "Leadership", *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.

Besides exploiting the opportunity for unusual sociability and gaiety at assemblages of ostensibly economic purpose, in the summer season Dénés apparently often gathered for the purpose of sheer sociability, using that opportunity to change their band affiliation. . . . [According to a Slave informant] this changing of bands was a very common practice. When children grew up they left the band of their father and mother. Customarily only one offspring remained with the parent's band.

War parties (now extinct for more than a century) are a final and variant type of temporary group. The scant evidence available indicates that they were often composed of members of more than one band.¹

Wherein lies a political component in these groupings?

It is plain that the ultimate locus of power and decision in Athabascan society was in the largely unorganized sentiments and opinions, coupled with not always effective diffuse sanctions, of the social body as a whole. These probably found their most effective expression at those times when the adult men of a group

¹ Ibid., pp. 135-138. See all of the original article for source references.

I should like to digress here to deal with Julian Steward's summary on Northeastern Athapaskan "band" size. Steward's original study was published twenty years ago as "The Economic and Social Basis of Primitive Bands," in *Essays on Honor of A. L. Kroeber* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936), pp. 331-50. At the time I wrote "Leadership among the Northeastern Athabascans" I did not include Steward's work, as I was emphasizing primary sources. Since then, Steward's article has been republished in slightly altered form under the title "The Composite Hunting Band" in his *Theory of Culture Change* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), 1955, pp. 143-150. His characterization has remained unchanged.

Steward says (and I have freely inserted comments in brackets):

The bands of the eastern Athabaskans living mainly in the Mackenzie Basin were extraordinarily large in view of the sparse population numbering several hundred persons each. [Steward's footnote here: The Slave had five bands, averaging 220 individuals each; the Hare had five, numbering 120 or more each. The Dog Ribs had three, numbering 380 persons each—Osgood gives four bands; a Yellow Knife band is stated to have numbered 190 persons. (J.H.: According to Franklin, *Journey in 1819 etc.*, p. 257, the 190 persons are the entire Yellowknife tribe.) These figures are based largely on A. G. Morice, "The Great Déné Race," *Anthropos* I, 265; also see Diamond Jenness, "The Indians of Canada," *Department of Mines, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin* 65 (1932), pp. 390-91; Osgood, *National Museum of Canada Annual Report*, 1933, p. 3.] This surprising size must be explained by the local economy. There were large herds of migratory musk ox and often of caribou in much of the area. [J.H.: This does not apply to most of the Slave territory.] These were hunted more or less seasonally and collectively by large groups of people. Population, which otherwise has to be distributed over an enormous area, was able to concentrate during these hunts in a group having some temporary centralized control, and thus constituting a political unit. [J.H.: I could find in the literature no real evidence of "temporary centralized control" being the common condition at these times. Casual statements by Richardson, op. cit., II, 25, and Russell, op. cit., p. 165, imply the absence of any centralized control or organization during seasonal large-scale hunts in the barren lands.] The bands were generally so large that they composed unrelated families. P. 147.

Steward is quite correct in commenting on the "surprising size" of the "bands," for these "bands" are what I have called "seasonal macro-assemblages" and do not represent the basic economic and social grouping at all. Often my major problem in dealing with an early writer was to figure out where his areas of ignorance and misinterpretation lay. Steward, by drawing on Morice, who never knew the Northeastern Athapaskans first-hand, was dealing with a secondary source who seems to have drawn largely on Petitot. Petitot's divisions of the Déné into five groups of Slaves, five groups of Hare, etc. as given in *Déné-Dindjé*, pp. 23-48, are regional divisions, corresponding largely to trading fort areas, as a matter of fact. There is no reason to assume these groups are *bands*, if we limit *band* to people who actually live together in the same camp for extended periods.

informally came together to exchange news and views of current events and problems, even as they do today. . . . In this unstructured milieu of group "government" by consensus and custom the only differential in role and power to be discerned is in the figure of the leader.¹

The literature recognizes at least putative leadership in the band, the trading gang, and the war party. The trading chief was a deliberate invention of the fur traders.

It is a universal practice with the Indian leaders, both Northern [i.e., Athapaskan-Chipewyan] and Southern [Cree], when going to the Company's Factory, to use their influence and interest in canvassing for companions; as they find by experience that a large gang gains them much respect. Indeed, the generality of Europeans who reside in those parts, being utterly unacquainted with the manners and customs of the Indians, have conceived so high an opinion of those leaders, and their authority, as to imagine that all who accompany them on those occasions are entirely devoted to their service and command all the year; but this is so far from being the case, that the authority of those great men, when absent from the Company's Factory, never extends beyond their own family; and the trifling respect shown them by their countrymen, during their residence at the factory, proceeds from motives of interest.²

Written by Hearne at the beginning of the historic era, this description of the meagre power of the trading chief is echoed through the decades by later observers.³ Occasionally, the support of the European traders and the economic advantages of being a chief led to high-handed bossiness⁴ or bullying intimidation⁵ on the part of the chief. But the overall picture is one of a "mouthpiece"⁶ whose role as trading chief brings him but "trifling respect" and influence.

The role of the war leader (who had ceased to function by the 1830's) was even slighter. It was limited to the duration of the raid,⁷ and from the only detailed account of war that we have—the massacre of the Eskimo at Bloody Falls by the Chipewyan—from the eye witness, Hearne,⁸ the

¹ Ibid., pp. 138-140. Evidence and descriptions of "government by consensus and custom" are found in Keith, op. cit., p. 88; Mason, op. cit., p. 34; Sir John Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition: A Journal of a Boat-Voyage through Rupert's Land and the Arctic Sea, in Search of the Discovery Ships under Command of Sir John Franklin* (London: Longmans, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851), II, 26; W. F. Wentzel, "Letters to the Hon. Roderic McKenzie, 1807-1824," ed. by L. F. R. Masson in *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du North-Ouest*, Série I (Quebec: 1889-90), 89; Manuscript attributed to John Macdonnell, among the Masson Papers, McGill University, Montreal, ca. 1800 (excerpts in typescript at National Museum of Canada, Ottawa).

² Hearne, op. cit., p. 284.

³ Keith, op. cit., pp. 90, 123; Franklin, *Journey 1819*, p. 142; Russell, op. cit., p. 164; Petitot, *Déné-Dindjie*, p. 34; Alexander Mackenzie, "Letter to Roderic Mackenzie," ed. by L. F. R. Masson in *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, Série I (Quebec: 1889-90), p. 36; John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five Year's Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory*, ed. by W. S. Wallace (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1932), p. 341.

⁴ Petitot, *Grand Lac des Esclaves*, pp. 324 ff.

⁵ Richardson, op. cit., II, p. 28.

⁶ Hearne, op. cit., p. 284.

⁷ Wentzel, op. cit., p. 89.

⁸ Hearne, op. cit., pp. 174-7, 330.

titular leader Matonnabee played no special role; discussion and consensus of the group directed the affair. It appears, however, that a war leader's past skill and bravery might enhance his over-all prestige and influence in daily life.¹

Superior shamanistic skill and awe- or fear-inspiring supernatural powers might give a man especial influence over others.² But it is likely that any man especially successful in war, hunting, or possibly even trade might be thought to possess unusually powerful "medicine" (through his guardian spirit).³ So it may not be wise to stress supernatural power as separate from worldly accomplishments.

The primary attribute upon which the earlier observers focus as a prerequisite of superior status and of leadership is that of superior hunting skill. Following the native lead, the fur traders took this accomplishment heavily into account when appointing trading chiefs.⁴ Leadership in the basic band, when it existed to any extent, was evidently usually predicated on this area of achievement,⁵ and the excellent hunter might serve as a nucleus around which a band formed.⁶ Yet, except for a couple of offhand comments that he "regulates the movements of his band, chooses the hunting ground,"⁷ and, again, "régler l'ordonnance des chasses,"⁸ the literature gives us little solid information on the role of a hunt-band leader.⁹

¹ Wentzel, op. cit., p. 89.

² Mason, op. cit., p. 34; Roderic MacKenzie, "An Account of the Athabasca Indians by a Partner of the Northwest Company" (MS.), in *Some Account of the Northwest Company Containing Analogy of Nations Ancient and Modern* (MS.), Part III (1795), MS. copy in Dominion Archives, Ottawa.

³ Cf. MacNeish, "Folk Beliefs," op. cit.

⁴ McLean, op. cit., p. 341.

⁵ Hearne, op. cit., p. 101; Keith, op. cit., p. 114; Wentzel, op. cit., p. 89.

⁶ Richardson, op. cit., 11, p. 26.

⁷ Ibid., p. 26.

⁸ Petitot, *Déné-Dindjie*, p. 34.

⁹ Two ethnologists have quoted brief statements made by informants about earlier times. From Osgood we hear that "caribou hunting among the Satudene was done generally by a band or group as a communal affair, initiated by either of the two most important men, the best hunter or the oldest man" (op. cit., p. 40). Honigmann's Slave informant stated that in earlier days "recognition was . . . given to a leader . . . who directed people in hunting. Not to obey him might mean starvation . . ." (*Fort Nelson Slave*, p. 65). This informant's statement, I suspect, is over-emphatic owing to lack of knowledge. The only "directing" of the hunt feasible in moose country is the decision in what area to hunt (and to move the band). Knowledge, in all likelihood held in common, of all attainable "fish lakes" was probably the most vital knowledge to have in times of starvation. The repeated reports of decimation of Mackenzie-Liard peoples in the nineteenth century indicate that in times of scarcity, no hunter's wisdom was sufficient to overcome the lack of game.

Marcel of Lynx Point had little more than Honigmann's informant to offer in the way of concrete details on possible hunt leadership. Questioned regarding a "boss for the hunt" in earlier days, Marcel said that there were such men; they decided which route individual hunters would take for the day, to circumvent the possibility of one glimpsing another accidentally and shooting him in mistake for game. This is a very minor act. Marcel may have been thinking of a father-leader of a family band directing inexperienced sons. He said he had never heard of a leader acting as a co-ordinator for a group hunt.

The two characterizations that seem to best sum up the conditions of leadership among the northeastern Athapaskans and to give some view of general qualities of character of leaders, are given by Richardson and Mason. Richardson, writing in 1851, says—

Superior powers of mind, combined with skill in hunting, raise a few into chiefs [leaders], under whose guidance a greater or smaller number of families place themselves, and a chief is great or small according to the length of his tail [i.e., the number of his followers]. His clients and he are bound together only by mutual advantage, and may and do separate as inclination prompts. The chief does not assume the power of punishing crimes, but regulates the movements of his band, chooses the hunting-ground, collects provisions for the purchase of ammunition, becomes the medium of communication with the traders, and extends his sway by a liberal distribution of tobacco and ammunition among his dependents. At present, the rank of a chief is not fully established among his own people until it is recognized at the fort to which he resorts. [Here we see the *native-selected* leader receiving a confirmation of his status by being made a trading chief.] . . . A free expenditure by the chief of the presents he receives from the traders, and even of the produce of his furs, is a main bulwark of his authority, in addition to the skill which he must possess in the management of the various tempers with which he has to do.¹

Mason, describing the isolated Dog Rib of Fort Rae in 1913, says—

These leaders are elderly men as a rule, often the paternal patriarchs of the band, and being generally good hunters, experienced woodsmen, and more efficient than the majority of their fellows, their judgment is respected by the members of the gang. . . . The chiefs or leaders were neither elected or appointed but were those whose powerful "medicine" caused them to be feared and respected and whose authority, knowledge, and competency were admitted to be superior.²

From the survey of the literature, the conclusion that emerges is that—

. . . the leader characteristically had a very tenuous position in northeastern Athabaskan society. He might serve as adviser, coordinator, director, and perhaps initiator of specific military actions and/or of occasional and particular economic activities beyond the day-to-day hunting and snaring routine. Also, by virtue of his prestige gained from his superior abilities and his awe-inspiring powers he might act as the prime opinion-giver in social matters within the band. His "authority" lay in putting his stamp of approval upon decisions or viewpoints arrived at by the group as a whole, or, more specifically, his male peers. The wise chief or leader had his finger upon the pulse of individual and group opinions. He had to woo others to his way of thinking, or, that failing, to alter his course accordingly. His position might be buttressed by the attribution of powerful medicine and by the Europeans' evaluation and use as "trading chief" of his already dominant role. But the power of a strong or "great" leader lay in his influence, rather than his "legal" authority. Ordinarily, he had neither the moral or physical resources to impose his will. Birket-Smith's characterization of the Chipewyan chief as *primus inter pares* keynotes the position of the Northern Déné leader.

There is little reason to suppose that all or most local groups had a headman or leader by even the feeble criteria given above. The fluidity and lack of structure of all groupings argue against the likelihood of a leader as a characteristic figure in every group. The intermittent nature of the macro-assemblages did not allow for continual exercise of the leader role, and apparently only in the trading gang and the war party was it ever enacted at all.³

¹ Richardson, op. cit., pp. 26-28.

² Mason, op. cit., p. 34.

³ MacNeish, "Leadership," op. cit., p. 151. The source for the Birket-Smith characterization is Kaj Birket-Smith, *Contributions to Chipewyan Ethnology*.

The evidence both past and present indicates that, given the requisite personal qualities and abilities,

. . . the sentiments of kinship have been the base upon which the leader builds his influence and his following. "To become a general leader requires numerous relations . . .," says Keith. Primary relationships . . . probably characteristically formed the core of the leader-follower syndrome. In Franklin's account of the Yellowknives, we find Humpy, the older brother of the leader Akaitcho, mentioned several times in a way that suggests he served as a close associate and lieutenant of his younger sibling. [Might we draw a parallel here to Marcel and his older "brother," Henri?] On one occasion Akaitcho "deferred giving a final answer [to Franklin regarding a proposed journey] until the arrival of Humpy."¹

From Jenness we have an account of a strong band leader of the last generation who, starting with his nuclear family, expanded both the band and his authority. A French-Sekani breed, Old Davie

. . . raised a family of four daughters. He selected husbands for them with great care . . . Another family of breeds, probably kinsfolk of Davie's wife, joined the band, which in 1924, numbered forty individuals. Davie wielded the authority of a Hebrew patriarch. He kept his party in its hunting grounds aloof from all settlements except for two or three weeks in the early summer . . . and at the posts he camped away from other Indians . . . As hunters and trappers their reputation was unsurpassed in the whole of British Columbia. But Davie, the leader, was an old man in his seventies, and none of the younger men seemed capable of taking his place.²

The development of Old Davie's band recalls the growth of Lynx Point under the aegis of Old Mink. Generally, the Lynx Point community can be regarded only as an evolved, stabilized counterpart of the aboriginal basic hunting band. The mode of recruitment and the tenor of socio-political behaviour at Lynx Point, previously described, show no real break with the earlier patterns so far as they are revealed in the literature. This continuity from past to present will be echoed in later pages when we further examine the present leader of Lynx Point.

The survey of the traditional socio-political forms in northeastern Athapaskan life provides a base line against which to compare the Lynx Point Venture. From it, also, some understanding is gained of the traditional social "tools" accessible to the Lynx Point people in their efforts to work out a more satisfactory condition of living. A full comprehension, however, is not to be found only at the level of form. The emotional set completes the picture.

There is in Slavey life a constellation of traits of behaviour and sentiments in which a common motif may be discerned; this I have chosen to term the cultural theme of autonomy. It is suggested by the very minimality of the forms considered in the foregoing section and by some of the earlier observers' ventured pertinent generalizations. "The Chipewyan tribes in general seem averse to superior rule," McLean wrote in 1847.³ Mason summed up the Slave Lake Indians in 1913: "Individualism seems to be the

¹ Ibid., p. 152. The sources for the statements in this passage are, Keith, op. cit., p. 109; Franklin, op. cit., p. 270.

² Jenness, *Sekani*, p. 14.

³ McLean, op. cit., p. 342.

keynote to the interpretation of this culture.”¹ In recent years, for the Fort Nelson Slave, Honigmann has recognized “individualism” as an enduring value, contributing, at the societal level, to “social atomism.”² And in his analysis of Kaska ethos (based in part on projective test protocols) into six interrelated “dominant motivations,” the autonomy motif, as I define it, is pronounced. His analysis of the “dominant motivation of ego-centricity” largely comprehends this motif.³

The selection of a single term—autonomy—to encompass a complex phenomenon was in itself difficult. One thing that autonomy does not imply in the present usage is the psychiatric concept of independence at the personality level. On the contrary, dependency needs are a deep and painful component of many Lynx Point personalities.⁴ Honigmann also cites dependence, “a passive receptive longing for care and affection”⁵ as a dominant motivation among the Kaska. The mode of reconciliation of the personality need to the autonomy motif contributes heavily to the distinctive cast of certain Slavey personalities.

The term *autonomy* has reference here to a normative aspect of Slavey culture. It refers to the creed and practice inherent in interpersonal relationships of “every man his own boss.” Now, an individual may relinquish in some part this “right of self government” (as Fowler defines autonomy), either by succumbing to the domination of a stronger personality owing to personal dependency needs, or, because of practical advantages, as in former times, by assuming a submissive position under a successful hunter-leader or trading chief. But it is clear that one may choose to abstain from such a situation. Any subjection (except to a limited extent that of children and women) of one person to the will of another or others stems from particular idiosyncratic interplays rather than from socio-moral requirements.

“Individualism seems to be the keynote to the interpretation of this culture,” Mason suggested for the Slave Lake Indians, and he went on to summarize its primary manifestations in the more traditional way of life.

The individual is bound by few taboos and coerced by no authority. He often hunts alone, though his kill is common property; he takes his own revenge on his enemies; he is his own shaman. Of course there is little individuality, and even

¹ Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

² Honigmann, *Fort Nelson Slave*, *passim*.

³ Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society*. I feel that Honigmann's study of Kaska “ethos” should more properly be called a study of Kaska modal personality, if at least a partial distinction between the two be granted. Honigmann's treatment, drawing heavily from ego psychology in both concepts and methods (e.g. heavy reliance on projective tests) emphasizes recurring patterns in *personality* among the Kaska. Ethos in the more rigorous sense I conceive to be the “emotional emphases of the culture” (Gregory Bateson, *Naven*, Cambridge: University Press, 1936, p. 32), which during the process of enculturation of the individual, contributes to the cultural component of personality of that individual or the modal personality of the culture bearers. Ethos is embodied in the emotional or effective aspects of cultural values, themes, sentiments, and cultural behaviour in general. As long as we consider culture capable of investigation apart from the particular human minds that carry it, a distinction between ethos and modal personality is not only legitimate but, despite the intricacies of their interrelationship, often methodologically necessary.

⁴ See Helm, Devos, and Carterette, *op. cit.*

⁵ Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of the Kaska Society*, p. 280.

the individualism is circumscribed by custom and tradition, but comparing the culture of this region with those of other American Indian areas, there is evident a great lack of ceremonies and all other communal relations, and to some extent an individualization of these same phenomena.¹

For Lynx Point, previous chapters have illustrated the autonomy motif at the level of social structure. To summarize—omitting for the moment the special circumstances of the Lynx Point Venture—first: the lack of hierarchical power relations is evident. Within the family, among kinsmen, between partners, within the community, and between generations and junior and senior in age, relationships are predominantly egalitarian. Only the seemingly universal norms of dominance of man over woman and parent over immature child supply exceptions, and quite limited ones, at that.

Second, the demands that society as a unit makes upon the individual's time, energy, and emotions are strikingly few. If the contributions to the Lynx Point Venture are excepted, there is, in fact, only one truly obligatory contribution to the social body—the communal distribution of large game. The contribution of food at the New Year celebration might also be included. We have seen that the earlier, more nearly aboriginal society of the north-eastern Athapaskans demanded no more of its members—no permanent band allegiance, no contribution to communal ritual, no formulation of or action toward communal aims unless one rather questionably includes the occasional observance of blood revenge or wergeld by local kindred segments.

Third, and this point is closely related to the previous one, there are a few positive expectations between individuals as members of the same social body. What obligations or responsibilities, by custom, may the individual at Lynx Point expect his fellow community member to assume toward him? He expects him usually to lend items when requested. He expects him to share his brew. Even in these matters not all community members may participate indiscriminately with one another. (It will be recalled that Zachary and Daniel seldom interact with the Yukons along these lines.) The Lynx Pointer also thinks it likely that someone (most probably one or more very close kinsmen) may offer assistance, the amount indeterminate, in housebuilding or other large-scale construction and may occasionally "help out" with minor food gifts and little services. Certainly he expects some help from close kinsmen in time of sickness or other crisis. But that is about all. Only in borrowing and brewing (and communal sharing of large game) are expectations and reciprocal behaviour regularized. Only in brewing (and large game distribution) is the individual expected to offer freely without being asked. The over-all tenor (again, excepting large game distribution) is one of persons carrying out those occasional and casual neighbourhood amenities that demand little of one, rather than of a serious contribution to the furtherance and welfare of the social body.

To turn from the level of structure to that of *ethos*: the individual upholds the theme of autonomy by employing certain modes of emotionally-toned behaviour. These modes may best be viewed in terms of the dyadic

¹ Op. cit., p. 43.

relationship, for they are employed to two ends—(1), to defend the autonomy of the self, and (2), to respect the autonomy of the other. The respect for the autonomy of the other is, of course, ultimately for the individual a self-protective device, for to infringe on another's autonomy is to call down hostility upon one's self. We have seen at Lynx Point the aversion to aggression, a point stressed by Honigmann for the Kaska.¹ But respect for the autonomy of the other is also a social norm; it is recognized as proper social behaviour, and it is with this aspect that we are here concerned.

The behavioural mode by which the autonomy rights of others is observed can best be summed up as non-interference. Giving orders, demanding, telling another person what to do—in other words, bossiness—these are relatively extreme forms of interference. Such behaviour is apt to be strongly resented, and, in fact, is not often seen. The bossy behaviour of Zachary, while drinking, toward Daniel, and Daniel's apparently unresentful acceptance were unusual. Karl sometimes had the urge to bossiness while brewing, but unlike Zachary, he had no amenable stooge. We recall that it would not be proper for Henri as the responsible adult male who, perforce, had to assume the support of Arnie's mother and siblings to interfere with Arnie's foolish expenditure of money because Arnie was "his own boss," and that Marcel did not feel free to tell other persons' children to cease dangerous or destructive activities. The precept of non-interference best accounts for the hesitancy of the individual, even when obviously willing to aid, to proffer assistance or suggestions unless requested.

The tendency toward constraint in interpersonal contacts and relationships serves as the primary preventive measure in safeguarding autonomy of self. By most Euro-American standards, Slaves characteristically do not "open up" or "warm up" easily or fully. Aloofness, taciturnity, and unresponsiveness in interpersonal contact are the conditions common to many personalities and are accepted without comment. So far as the language limitation allowed us to judge, verbal interaction tends to be desultory and is strongly oriented toward immediate pragmatic topics, ones that are not consciously revelatory of one's inner state. In sobriety (and this qualification holds throughout) revelation of emotional state tends to be checked. Because of the fear of open conflict, an attempt to pressure or control a person is countered by passivity or evasion. One attempts to ignore the situation, or says "yes," but then does not accede to the demand. The final recourse in the face of sustained pressure is flight.

The values of Slavey life are seldom enunciated—they are only acted upon. Although given some leads by sentiments expressed on specific occasions, the comprehension and analysis of the autonomy value have been based predominantly upon the interpretation of behaviour. This is probably one reason why Honigmann leans so heavily on psychiatric tools in his study of Kaska *ethos*. Yet, much of Déné behaviour (both social and emotional, as summarized above) "makes sense"—i.e., forms a meaningful cultural pattern—only when the depth and vitality of the autonomy theme is grasped.

¹ Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society*, p. 264.

Immediate Impetuses

So far, we have gained little understanding of why the Lynx Point Venture came into being. Rather, from the basic cultural orientations just considered, which Lynx Point seems to share with the northeastern Déné societies in general, one would argue that the Lynx Point Venture should not have developed. What, then, have been the forces that have tempered and altered the common traditional condition as just seen? There are three.

One factor I have referred to as the set of conscious group-held motives of the participants in the Venture. The strongest motive is, phrased in broadest terms, the goal of a better life, and to the Lynx Pointer the better life is pre-eminently the better material existence. He wants more comforts, more possessions, and more physical and economic security for himself and his children. For this reason, even a man like Marcel, who takes pride in his skill in hunting and trapping, complains of that way of life—it is often unremunerative and uncertain and may be even more so in the future. For this reason, schooling for one's children is valued—the ability to read and write may allow them to find more financially rewarding work than trapping. At least it will enable them to buy and sell more effectively in the market. The better life is conceived in utilitarian terms. Here again we touch upon a common and basic strand running through Athapaskan life. The main concerns of life are seen to be primarily mundane, material ones. All societies, for their own survival, must of course take into account this aspect of existence. But the pragmatism of Slave culture strikes the eye and mind because it is almost all there is. Of the possible non-utilitarian ends and interests of life—aesthetics, ritual, philosophy, or systems of abstract thought—almost no exploration or elaboration can be discerned.

Honigmann has identified "utilitarianism" as one of the "dominant motivations" of the Kaska. Although his exploration follows somewhat different lines from the current one, his characterization of utilitarianism, denoting "a practical, functionally ingenious approach to the problems of living, and the ability to grapple with problems resourcefully," aiming "toward mastery of experience via concrete immediate thinking, sparing a minimum of attention for abstract speculation and non-functional aspects of craftsmanship,"¹ and "characterized by resourcefulness, ingenuity, and concrete thinking"² serves very well to distinguish the Slavey way.

The Lynx Point men are articulate in their desire for financial aggrandizement, for economic security, and for material well-being and security for their children in future years. These economic interests and consumption desires have been documented in earlier chapters. And the Lynx Point men explain the Venture—its new implements and new job opportunities—as an effort toward these ends. Contacts with other Dénés along the Mackenzie (Slave and Hare) indicate that the material insecurities and desires expressed at Lynx Point are given at least lip service, in the form of complaints, by almost all the Indians. The desire to have one's consumption level raised

¹ Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society*, p. 258.

² *Ibid.*, p. 264.

is strong throughout the region. The only departure of Lynx Point from the universal pattern is in the translation of these passive wishes into concerted action.

There are also secondary, related motives in operation at Lynx Point. One is probably not experienced by all but is patent in some cases (e.g., Marcel and Karl). This is the enjoyment and admiration of things mechanical. Here again the utilitarian bent of the Slavey emerges. The remaining motives are really gratifications allowed by the economic and technical achievements of the Venture. One that emerges obliquely in the conversation of the participants in the Lynx Point Venture is the pride in ownership. It pleases them that they have such impressive uncommon possessions as the great barge and power-boat. And, finally, as a variant emerging with this, is the pride in their general reputation—the “Lynx Point boys” as hard-working men of property. It might be argued that this element of pride is a somewhat more “spiritual” motive, as the term is used in the vernacular to connote the less mundane and more worthy, but it is predicated on concrete and practical achievement.

It was the mundane desires and goals of the Lynx Point men that made the next factor significant. This factor came from beyond the traditional Athapaskan world. In its immediate and precipitating form it was the fur boom of World War II. Viewed from the Slavey cosmos, it was historic accident at its purest. But it was opportunity, and, with eyes sharpened by desire, the Lynx Point men were able to recognize this when it occurred. Ultimately, of course, the whole culture contact situation throughout its temporal span bears on the Lynx Point Venture. The advent of the fur traders opened new vistas of desire for the Indians and allowed them to be partially realized. Through the decades, but especially within the last generation, the greater world has displayed to the Indian more and more kinds of material goods, and the Indian's purchasing power has become significantly greater because of greater competition in the fur trade. Within the span of the present generation, the Indian's knowledge of the tools and techniques of the greater world and of the material advantages to be gained from them, as well as his experience in using them, has greatly increased. Also, over the years has come some knowledge of the nature of the fur market—that there are “good years” (the great fur boom of the early '20's, for example) and “bad years.” It will be recalled that Marcel and his associates were thinking along lines of the Venture before it was financially feasible to obtain the necessary tools and were thinking in terms of “when a good year comes.” But the coming of the “good year” was, in the cosmos of Lynx Point, as incalculable and adventitious as the stranding of a whale on an Arctic beach that turns Eskimo famine into feast.

The Personal Equation

A utilitarian outlook and the growth of conscious desires for physical and economic betterment would seem propitious for the development of a program of technical and financial aggrandizement such as the Lynx Point

Venture. But though they were perhaps necessary conditions for such an effort, we know that in themselves they were not sufficient. This is evidenced by the fact that the Lynx Point Venture is unique along the Mackenzie River (and, it appears, in the whole Athabaskan northland), although the whole Indian population experienced the opportunity of the fur boom and, so far as Honigmann's¹ and my own observations carry us, the utilitarian outlook is a widely-held heritage of northern Athapaskan ethos.

The solution for those individuals motivated toward practical attainments was to exploit their financial opportunities *individually*. An example of this more typical solution is that of Joe Renard, Marcel's cousin (through his biological father) from the neighbouring community of Bear Creek. Joe is a "go-getter" and in his drive toward upward mobility is a somewhat aberrant individual. (He married an educated *métis* girl, who taught him to read and write, and in 1952 legally changed his status from Indian to White. Marcel, with the same paternal ancestry, could do the same if he so desired). With his extra money from the good years, Joe joined first with a White man and then with his younger biological brother, Sam, in the ownership of a 40-foot inboard motor scow for hauling jobs, but in both cases he broke the partnership in order to own the equipment wholly and to operate it himself. He regards the Lynx Point co-operative as unusual and surprising in that it has endured in relative concord.

The Lynx Point Venture seemingly goes against the cultural heritage of individualism and personal autonomy. In reality, it has maintained, to the emotional satisfaction of its participants, the desideratum of autonomy while utilizing the sentiments of family, kin, and personal affection and concord to allow agreement, co-operation, and co-ordination in activities and goals. But, still, in any Slavey kin-community we may postulate that there exists at least a residuum of these sentiments, yet no others have been able to mobilize them in this manner.

Here we arrive at the final factor in the Lynx Point Venture—the personal equation, those particular personalities and their concatenations that have achieved this nice, if sometimes uneasy, balance and made it an operative force. The personality of each of the men in the Venture and the relation of each to the other are pertinent here. But the focal personality around which the others revolve, and the one which commands the deepest scrutiny, is Marcel, to whom we shall return shortly.

The Murray Thematic Apperception Test and the Rorschach Ink Blot Test were administered to about half of the men, women, and children (over six years of age) of Lynx Point. These have been analysed by Dr. George A. DeVos, clinical psychologist, and a paper on family constellations in personality and individual personality variation, including studies of Henri and Karl Mink, Zachary Ingram, Daniel Heriot, and Marcel,² has been

¹ Honigmann, *The Fort Nelson Slave, Culture and Ethos of Kaska society*.

² I am grateful to Dr. William A. Caudill for providing me with his independent assessment of Marcel's TAT record.

prepared under the triple authorship of the ethnologists and psychologist.¹ The characterological assessments based on the participant-observation of the ethnologists were found to be, on the whole, firmly supported by the projective test analyses. Since Marcel is the key figure in the Lynx Point Venture, the projective material will be drawn upon to supplement and augment our understanding of the enactment of his role.

Something of the particular personalities and allegiances of the other men of the Venture—Karl, Henri, Ozzie, Zachary, Daniel, Isadore, and Old David—has emerged in earlier sections. Old David, since his initial monetary contribution, has been inactive in the planning and execution of Venture projects. There is no evidence that he ever played any forceful community role, although by virtue of his “father” or “elder brother” relationship to the other men of the core family he did evoke occasional assistance and co-operation in Slave Lake fishing expeditions from the younger men of the core family. Similarly, Isadore, despite his “elder brother” status, has apparently never been interested in assuming a central role in group life. Isadore is willing to help his kinsmen in their joint activities, but he appears to be primarily committed to the oldtime individualistic bush pursuits.

The remaining men are somewhat more intensively involved in the Lynx Point Venture. Daniel is a rather lazy, dependent, but affable and accommodating individual. He does not resent more emphatic personalities and is willing to fall in with the plans of such people if the demands are not too great and if some material or social benefit is forthcoming. He will not exert himself unduly, but, given the lead, he will go along with others. Again, Ozzie is a malleable person. He does not seek responsible directive roles and is probably not capable of fulfilling any, but when called upon, it is natural for him to assist his “brothers.” Zachary’s interest and motives appear somewhat complex. His conscious, somewhat dogged, respect for the virtues of diligence, self-control, and bettering oneself, no doubt originally gave him a positive reaction to the Venture. But his touchiness and vulnerable self-esteem have led, as mentioned earlier, to a certain disgruntlement at not being accorded a decision-making role in the Venture projects. However, his identification with White achievement values and his rejection of the bush-trapper way of life as being either profitable or enjoyable remain as a positive tie to the Venture efforts.

With Henri and Karl we draw closer to the core of dedication and enthusiasm for the Venture, its capital goods and its achievements. Karl’s allegiance to the Venture pivots around one figure—Marcel. His devotion to and dependency upon Marcel make Marcel’s wants and interests Karl’s. It has been brought out earlier that Karl is Marcel’s eager assistant and protégé in mechanical matters and that no one else has sought this role.

In Henri, several personality traits contribute to his interest in and support of the Venture. A sense of pride in ownership of the outfit he shares with his “brothers.” Furthermore, he is of a gregarious, outgoing nature. Despite

¹ June Helm, George A. De Vos, and Teresa Carterette, “Variations in Personality and Ego Identification within a Slave Indian Kin-Community.” Unpublished manuscript.

an occasional resentment, he entertains a sense of family affection and allegiance to his "brothers." He is a hard worker at individual labour or in a group project where he seems to enjoy pace-setting, and he has a kind of youthful enthusiasm in physical activities. But, in strong contrast to Marcel, the mastery of the mechanical holds no appeal for him. He knows nothing about the engine of the power-boat, the item of primary importance in running the outfit. He has never even owned an outboard motor. The activities of the Venture are geared to machine power, yet Henri makes no attempt to learn the rudiments of mechanical operation and repair. In this vital respect he would be completely incapable of replacing Marcel.

Without Marcel the Venture would never have come into existence. It has already been demonstrated that he has been the "brain," the leader, and the most diligent worker in the conception and achievements and continuance of the Venture. To comprehend how the Venture—the group ownership of capital goods and group labour and co-ordination—came into being and has endured for a decade¹, it is necessary to understand Marcel. It is two aspects of Marcel as a personality that must be considered: Marcel as a social and cultural being in interaction with others, and Marcel as an individual possessing certain needs, drives, interests, and motives.

First, to see Marcel in his role of leader or man of influence it is profitable to view his social qualifications, to see in what way he fulfils certain cultural desiderata that were brought out in earlier passages on traditional socio-political organization. These may be subsumed under the terms *kinship* and *bush prowess*.

The present Lynx Point community, like the aboriginal hunt-band, is a community of kindred. Any leader figure, then, is accepted and operates not merely as an exceptional person but as a kinsman. And at Lynx Point and, I suspect, also in the aboriginal band not only the more diffuse attachment of kindredness but the more immediate and intense *family* sentiments provide the leader with his firmest supporters.² The greatest contribution and support of Marcel's schemes come from his "brothers," the three Minks, with whom he grew up in sibling relationship. (Within this core, of course, individual personalities have their effect. It is Karl's particular dependency and esteem needs that make him the most personally devoted to Marcel and therefore to Marcel's projects). The fact that Marcel is the oldest of the Mink siblings may have, in the years of childhood and adolescence, helped establish him as the more knowledgeable and experienced in the crafts of life. (Isadore Loche would have had this advantage over Marcel and the others, but so far as our information tells us he has never exploited it.) A related factor is involved here. Not only is Marcel a kinsman—"brother" or brother-in-law—to all the other men of the Venture, but he is, like his Mink "brothers," an original member of the community. (This factor probably would not have been operative in the same way in aboriginal times, when there was much less stability of site and personnel in the band.) In this respect Marcel *belongs*

¹ These lines were written in 1957.

² In the earlier literature we found that the great chief Akaitcho's first lieutenant was his brother, Humpy.

to the community in a way that the brothers-in-law, Zachary and Daniel, do not, and are aware that they do not. One questions whether Marcel, had he remained in another band community after marriage (e.g., with that of his wife's parents, had they been firm members of another bush-band community, which they were not) would have been able, lacking a lifetime of residence and family ties, to command the interest and allegiance of more distant and probably primarily affinal kinsmen.

The second cultural qualification—and one that Marcel passes with flying colours—is prowess in bush life. Marcel enjoys his hunting ability and takes pride in it, and he is an able hunter. He ranks below no man in his contributions to the communal larder and is the peer of any other in trapping and bushcraft generally. We have seen from the early literature that superior hunting skill was the prime prerequisite of leadership. The practical advantages of falling in with an excellent hunter in a society where the sharing of large game is a cardinal rule are obvious, and in a simple society in a harsh environment the man who is the most skilled in the most vital activity commands the greatest respect, all other things being equal. In this traditional area of excellence, Marcel is as respect-worthy, so far as I know, as any man in the community and, for that matter, along the entire river.

The ability to turn experience into knowledge and good judgment would seem the first requirement toward skill in any craft, especially where one is partly self-trained, as with the northern Déné hunter. But there are other qualities necessary for excellence as well. One of these would seem to be a sense of challenge and the enjoyment of one's own skill. At Lynx Point the two (physically able) men who apparently are the poorest hunters, bringing in the least to the communal larder, are Zachary and Daniel, both of them articulate in their self-pity and dissatisfaction with bush life. Furthermore, there are the qualities of persistence and endurance. These are perhaps especially vital in the harsh world of the sub-Arctic forest. Those who work hardest and longest at hunting bring back the most meat. Most hunting at Lynx Point occurs when "fresh sign" is seen in the course of trap-line trips. But the diligent hunter frequently goes out for a 24-hour hunting effort between trap-line trips. As far as our informal observations allowed us to judge, it appeared that it was Marcel who most frequently carried on these activities. Certainly he was second to no other man in the community. Unfortunately we could not accompany men on serious hunting expeditions,¹ but even slight knowledge of the land and the exigencies of the hunt make it evident that it is that ability to force one's body into an extra hour or two, or more, of effort that often spells the difference between success and failure.² From King, with Richardson's expedition of 1833–1835 into the area northeast of Slave Lake, comes a brief but significant passage. It concerns Akaitcho who, in

¹ This was primarily because we knew we were not physically equal to the task of accompanying the men in the bush at their pace. Also, we felt it unwise to ask a man to expose himself to the teasing innuendoes which any man-woman trip into the bush is apt to entail.

² For the Arctic Caribou area Stefansson has written graphic descriptions of the endurance that must on occasion be summoned in the hunt. V. Stefansson, *The Friendly Arctic*. New York, 1921, *passim*.

all the literature on the northeastern Déné, emerges as the man most clearly a leader. The time is one of a great famine at Fort Resolution, where the explorers and a large crew of Déné helpers were starving.

Akaitcho during this appalling season of calamity proved himself well worth the rank of Chief of the Yellowknives . . . He set the example of hunting early and late every day, and by continued exertion, made every attempt to alleviate the distress which was pressing heavily upon his tribe. The bold manner with which he encountered every difficulty, mitigated in a great measure the growing evil and dispelled the gloom which had seized both the old and the young.¹

The northern Déné is no longer called upon to stave off death by starvation. But these lines still exemplify "the qualities necessary to a leader of real stature—the willingness to give most fully of his energies and persistence and endurance in the face of difficulty or crises, promoting the morale of his group. . . These qualities are prerequisite both to outstanding hunting success and to leadership. . ."²

Marcel does not stint himself in the face of the challenge of the bush. And those same traits that make him a more successful hunter we see even more clearly in Marcel's response to the demands of the Lynx Point Venture.

In a simple unstructured society, such as the Slavey, where any special status is attained through achievement rather than ascription, the particular character of the individual is the keystone of his role. A major key to Marcel as a person and as the leader of Lynx Point is his approach to the physical world. In his excellence in the hunt and in bushcraft, Marcel has fulfilled the prime prerequisite of leadership. But he has done this not because he desires to obtain leadership, but because it is in his nature to do so. Marcel is a craftsman. He sees challenge in the physical world, and he delights in developing and applying his skills so as to master the technical and mechanical problems of the physical environment. The enjoyment and pride that he experiences in bushcraft seem even greater in application to the technical and mechanical challenges that the greater world has allowed him. (It must be admitted that the genesis of this area of motivation in Marcel remains obscure. We find the expression of these interests and drives in the protective test materials but not their etiology.)

Marcel does not commit himself as to the outcome of any venture, but he is intrigued and seems quietly confident when faced with a technical challenge. His characteristic response to a question regarding his potential ability to master a technical problem or attain a new skill is "Try, anyway." In Marcel's TAT record DeVos finds that one of the main themes is "doing things for oneself" and the suggestion of "a practical literal-mindedness."

Marcel's ingenuity, patience, and careful craftsmanship are illustrated in the following incident. The long bushing of the propeller shaft of the powerboat became worn, causing the propeller to rotate off-centre and to vibrate dangerously. He had diagnosed the trouble in its early stages and had ordered a new bushing from outside, but when it arrived it was the wrong size. To wait more weeks for a proper bushing to arrive would have meant incon-

¹ King, *op. cit.*, I, p. 173.

² MacNeish, "Leadership," *op. cit.*, p. 154.

venience and financial loss to the group. So he undertook to manufacture a temporary bushing from the scanty materials at hand at Lynx Point. The propeller shaft and its outer casing were removed from the power-boat. Marcel, with Karl as his assistant, melted down soldering lead, carefully centred the shaft, by eye, in the casing, and poured the lead around it to form a new bushing. Then they whittled a pole to the size of the shaft and, after doing some rough filing of the pole, rammed it, wrapped in sandpaper, through the hole of the bushing until the bore was smooth enough to act as an adequate surface against which the shaft could turn. This improvised bushing served for several weeks until a proper brass one arrived.

Marcel's role as prime mechanic and engineer of the power-boat has been documented in earlier sections. He is attracted to all other forms of mechanical mastery. Some of his comments and actions, here adapted from our field notes, are illustrative:

Marcel states that he usually does not like motion pictures. He doesn't like all that "sweetheart stuff," but he does like movies about boats and the war, and he described movies he enjoyed on sheep-sheering in Australia and the locating and hunting of submarines by ASDIC.

Marcel examined an angle measure on the back of our ruler. He explained to us how it can be used in building. He states that this is something that he has figured out for himself.

Marcel says he would like to know all about electricity. He says that he likes to work with lumber in the sawmill (where he worked for a time for a White man at the fort) and in house-building.

Marcel frequently tinkers with clocks, radios, motors—any mechanical contrivance. He is pleased if asked to repair something. He studies and handles the object deliberately but delicately before starting to work. He verbalizes his admiration for a good tool or a good piece of work. His face really seems to light up as he talks of these matters. On the other hand, viewing a shoddy piece of workmanship, as for example the shelf made for us by Ozzie, Marcel is apt to shake his head and mutter "Jesus Christ!" In the particular instance cited, he silently departed from our cabin, returned with his tools and rebuilt the shelf properly.

Other examples could be cited, but these suffice to indicate this characteristic aspect of Marcel. We once suggested to him that it was a pity he had never had the opportunity for any technical training. His response was (paraphrased) "Well, things often look hard, but if you try to do them, sometimes you find out it's not so hard after all."

It was while Marcel was in his young adulthood that the White trader and trapper, Andrews, lived at Lynx Point, and for two years Marcel was his trapping partner. This evidently was a period of opportunity for Marcel to acquire technical knowledge (as well as to learn broken English), and he made the most of this association. We know that Andrews had an outboard motor and that this was Marcel's first opportunity to learn the mechanics of a

gasoline engine. Soon Marcel owned his own "kicker," the first Indian on the river, he mentioned to us several times with quiet pride, to own an outboard motor.¹

In succeeding years, Marcel has constantly sought opportunities for more experience and knowledge in mechanical matters and technical devices, using such social and business contacts with river pilots, traders, and government officials as have come his way to examine and, if possible, operate different devices, such as sawmill equipment, tractors, and diesel engines.

The kind of selection Marcel has exercised in the acculturation situation is indicative of his character. It is the utilitarian advances of Euro-American culture that have actively attracted him. The appeals and desires engendered in Marcel in the contact situation have been limited almost completely to technological advantages. He shows no inclination to enter into the White Canadian social system and no real emotional investment in the system of manners, morals, and religion (except in so far as they had been already incorporated into Indian culture). He feels no need to "improve himself" or "live up to" White socio-moral standards. He is a bush Indian, whose dedication to the utilitarian cast of the native ethos has led him to select only those pertinent offerings or benefits from the culture contact situation.

The over-all assessment of Marcel's intellectual nature gained from observation of and interaction with him is that he is clever (and his cleverness, the ability to assess and evaluate in a practical way, which he shows in relation to the physical world, has, it seems, its counterpart in shrewdness in the realm of interpersonal relations). He is pragmatic and concrete minded. He is primarily interested in those natural and social phenomena in which he can see immediate application or significance in his own life. The obverse of these traits is that he does not appear to have any intellectual gift for or attraction to abstract thinking, broad ideation, or philosophizing. Now here, of course, there is a question that the kinds of opportunities and norms in Marcel's cultural experience and the problem of linguistic communication between the ethnologists and him may have in the first instance inhibited, and in the second obscured, a potential abstractive, non-utilitarian intellectual drive within him. But the projective material on Marcel leads the analyst (DeVos) to support my observational assessment of a literal-minded practicality.

The second major aspect of Marcel's personality, pertinent to his role as leader, is his approach to interpersonal relationships. One characteristic in this respect, perhaps the most salient, is his interest in male friendships. He has a talent for camaraderie and enjoys a friendship on this level. His friendships, however, are controlled—that is, he occupies a position of equality or of superordination in relation to others. He does not yield his personality to the domination of another, as we have seen Karl do in

¹ Angus Sherwood's recollection is that it was an Indian from another band who owned the first outboard. But the date Sherwood gives roughly corresponds to the time Marcel got his first outboard motor. So if Marcel was not the first, he was probably the second or third. If Marcel "fudged" a bit in his account, it serves as one more illustration of his pride and self-image in matters mechanical.

regard to Marcel. With the ethnologists, Marcel was willing to establish a friendship of the same order that he holds with Indian men. It was essentially a relationship of camaraderie, although as women and inexperienced bush dwellers, Marcel enjoyed exercising over us as well, a protective role, that of a mentor rescuing us from our follies in bushcraft. Marcel's responses in the projective testing, especially in the TAT (as interpreted by both DeVos and Caudill), indicate that he does, in fact, feel more at ease in male-to-male camaraderie than in the man-woman relationship. Also, there is a suggestion in the projective material that there is an element of what might loosely be classified as a homosexual orientation in Marcel, an expression of a degree of tenderness between men that DeVos considers unusual in terms of Euro-American culture. Interestingly, DeVos also sees in Marcel's TAT record an interest in "co-operative relations replacing an interest in the family."

Marcel can go beyond his bush community in his friendships and interests in other people; witness, for example, his friendship with Andrews, with Beauchamp, the *métis* river pilot, and with the ethnologists—especially when these persons offered him a somewhat broader view of the world than he could obtain from his community kinsmen. His main area of identity and interest, however, is in the kin-community of Lynx Point. But again, this identification is under control. That is, Marcel does not sacrifice himself for the community. Rather, he uses the community both to its advantage and to his own personal advantage. That which honours Lynx Point honours Marcel, because he sees himself as a major figure in the community. He feels, in common with Karl and Henri, an allegiance and sense of pride as a Lynx Point man, but it is my feeling that this is because he has in large part created the good reputation that Lynx Point enjoys.

Marcel's kinship relations are another area in which we may look for a sense of affiliation and involvement. This sense does exist here, but again, as in his relation to the community as a whole, Marcel uses his kinship relations to his own advantage. Though he probably finds satisfaction in having those relationships, he is not subordinated to them. He is not a Mink, even though he regards the Mink brothers proper as his closest kinsmen. A statement by his daughter, Minnie, is suggestive. She commented that it makes her father "mad" to be called Marcel Mink, as some unknowing Whites at the fort have called him, because "he is not a Mink, he is Marcel Renard." A possible subsidiary motive in this is that by being a Renard, Marcel is identified as having White blood, whereas the Minks are, as far as Slavey knowledge goes, pure Indian. This identification, through his father, with the White man would operate, I suspect, in Marcel not in terms of attempting to enjoy the advanced social esteem that might accrue to a part-White but rather, that by virtue of this strain he can, in his own mind, enjoy a certain identity with the European technological tradition.

I have suggested, from the observational material, that Marcel enjoys the role of mentor—in other words, that of the "father." De Vos feels this is very strongly manifested in Marcel's TAT responses. Marcel shows considerable concern over injury to the father figure, a concern which De Vos

characterizes as ambivalent "but with a positive attitude on the conscious surface." On one card (Card 15) Marcel sees a dead man returning. "But," as De Vos points out, "rather than stressing fear of the ghost Marcel sees the spectre as trying to show something to his children. Here there is expressed a sense of continuity and heritage in knowledge between the generations." Surely this spectre is to Marcel's subconscious the wise and benevolent figure of Old Mink, and perhaps a projection of Marcel's desired role as well. Looking at Marcel's family history, his ambivalence and yet attraction to the father figure become clearer. For we know that, in a sense, he had no real father, but rather three quasi-fathers. First there was his biological father, Old Renard, who is still living. Marcel maintains only a minimal relationship with this man, whom he seldom sees. Then there is the man who was his mother's husband for all of Marcel's knowledgeable life, Old David. Though the relationship between Old David and Marcel at present seems fairly amicable, one can discern in observation no particular warmth between the two men. Thirdly, as a quasi-father to Marcel, there was Old Mink. It was this man who, in transmission of lore and training, approximated most strongly the father role for Marcel, and Marcel's respect for Old Mink is evident to this day. De Vos suggests that having these three fathers has caused a split in affect. The man with whom he was most closely identified, emotionally and intellectually, was Old Mink, who was not his real father, or even his sociological father, and therefore Marcel had no claim upon him. De Vos suggests that the appeal for Marcel of the role of mentor and of male comradeship may be "two narcissistic aspects of himself" derived from identification with the ideal father, Old Mink, combined with unresolved dependency needs. De Vos further suggests that "this identification and his dependency needs may have become sexualized, leading to a strong homosexual drive which is now being sublimated in the role of leader."

The overt manner of Marcel's social behaviour is, of course, immediately significant in his exercise of leadership. But, further, I think, we can perceive in that behaviour certain motivations and calculations that are never expressed verbally by Marcel. In the work situation specifically, as it is seen in the execution of projects of the Lynx Point Venture, Marcel's control and direction of any situation are held to a minimum of orders or of bossing the operation in general. Now this is the Slavey way of social or work behaviour. There are some individuals, however, and Karl serves as our best example here, where ego demands for esteem and recognition break through the acceptable pattern, resulting in bossiness and leading to resentment on the part of others. To Marcel the deed or result is more important than the name. For example, he was willing to relinquish the verbal title of "boss for the power-boat" to Henri. The important thing to Marcel was that the power-boat continued to operate effectively, regardless of who had the titular control. The actual control in terms of organization and planning for the power-boat remained under Marcel's direction. Marcel wants things done in what he conceives to be the proper way, but in attaining this end he is well aware of the requirements of Déné ethos, and accordingly, he threatens the autonomy

of others as little as possible in the execution of group projects. Although Marcel has never verbalized this outlook to me, I feel that he is well aware of the need to underplay his position of dominance as much as possible in order not to arouse resentment and anxiety in others.

Marcel's drinking behaviour, in contrast to his Mink "brothers" and indeed to all other men in the community except Zachary, is significant. At the stage of heavy drunkenness Marcel frequently withdraws into himself. He may sit and croon old songs or just sit without overt activity. Irritability also occasionally emerges when he is drunk. The only time he was observed to spank one of his children was while under the influence of alcohol. These traits can be seen occasionally under conditions of drunkenness in other men as well. But where Marcel stands out is in the lack of childish behaviour—the continual demand for cigarettes, the persistent calling attention of another to oneself; in general, the desire to impose oneself as the central and pampered figure in the situation—that seems to be the mode for the heavily drunken male. Even in the extreme stages of drunkenness Marcel either does not feel these needs or, if he does, at least he maintains control over himself to the extent that he does not give way.

Marcel's behaviour under intoxication reflects his general approach to human relationships. His over-all orientation to others I would characterize as calculating and cautious. De Vos, looking at the projective material, goes even further. He speaks of a "paranoid-like suspiciousness" being manifested in Marcel's protocols.

In the field, the ethnologists' assessment of Marcel underwent some evolution. Our first impression was of a quiet but confident personality. Marcel, by bush Slavey standards, evinced a high degree of social ease and ability to interact and talked seemingly spontaneously. But we came to feel that behind this surface smoothness there was a cautiousness and constraint, a weighing of the situation. It was clear that he was conscious of himself as a figure of importance and as community leader. While others, especially in the earlier months, were quite openly cautious, reserved, and even anxious in their relationships with the ethnologists, Marcel presented an assured facade. But he was careful to hide from the ethnologists activities such as brewing, which he thought might reflect negatively upon himself or upon the community in general.

As time went on, Marcel openly gave us a few clues to certain underlying insecurities. On one occasion he spoke of the extreme shyness from which he suffered as a young man, in contrast to Henri, who, he said, had never been shy.¹ Marcel said that as a youth he hated to go to the fort and walked with his head down all the time because of his extreme self-consciousness, and that he was so shy he did not think he would ever get married. In conversation he also on several occasions revealed to us his fear of physical decline and decay. (De Vos sees this area of anxiety, "a

¹ Henri's projective test records reveal a spontaneity of affect, and in general, show him to be the most physically comfortable (what would probably be called by a mental hygienist "well-adjusted") of the Lynx Point men tested.

concern with illness and dependency," as a prominent motif in Marcel's projective records and views it as the conscious expression of "the depressive elements in his personality.") Thus we eventually came to see Marcel, not as a person relatively free of social unease and deeper levels of anxiety, but as one who, despite these constrictive components of personality, has forced himself to approach new situations, to attempt to cope with them, and to attain a surface assurance of manner.

An important point already demonstrated about Marcel's social behaviour is that in the work situation he does more than his share. Excelling in the realm of physical effort and productivity is, as we have seen, a requirement of the Athapaskan leader. But in terms of idiosyncratic motivation, in Marcel's case we may view it as a manifestation of the need to gain and maintain the esteem of others and also to prove himself to himself. A man who has these drives is in a psychic stance conducive to the attainment of leadership. The need to feel a sense of pride, self-esteem, and accomplishment seems to be a vital component of Marcel's personality. But, to reconcile this need with his caution and defensiveness, and to make it palatable to the Déné ethos, he underplays its expression. For example, he will speak of his success in hunting by attributing it to good luck, thus achieving recognition of his accomplishment but not laying himself open to the charge of boastfulness. His self-view can be seen operative in many interpersonal and social situations. It would seem to be an aspect of his ready assumption of mentorship and of his rejection of infantile behaviour while drinking. His good name is important to him. He feels the need for respect. As part of this, he has a sense of his own dignity and of the dignity of the occasion, as we see when we recall his disapproval of community drinking during the New Year celebration.

In this sketch of Marcel's personality, the emphasis has been on those traits which apparently have been the effective factors in establishing his position of influence and leadership. Two main points may be made. First, it seems that the quality of control and calculation in Marcel—the inhibition of spontaneous or ingenuous reaction and, as part of this, the calculation of the effect of his actions upon others—is a prime element in his position as leader. He has the problem, which on the whole he appears to have met successfully, of not threatening or antagonizing the individuals under his leadership, upon whom he must rely for labour and co-operation. As a boss, he accedes to the Déné norm by holding directions, orders, and demands on others to a minimum. Seen from the viewpoint of the other persons involved, Marcel's exercise of his role is relatively non-threatening—that is, their view of their own self-autonomy is not shaken. Marcel does not permit himself the childish gratification of gratuitous bossiness. The theme of personal autonomy in the Déné ethos is echoed in the ego-defensive propensities in his individual make-up. We may infer that his emotional cognizance of these forces leads him both to appreciate the autonomy anxieties of others and, by offering as little threat to them as possible consonant with his achievement goals, to protect his own vulnerable ego from hostility.

The second major trait manifested by Marcel is, of course, that of achievement. He demonstrates superior industry, ability, and results in both the bush and the technical realm. From the point of view of others, this is a trait which makes him respect-worthy. And being respect-worthy is the first step toward effective influence and leadership. In earlier passages, the satisfactions felt by Marcel in his role in Lynx Point have been suggested. In summation of these, we may say first, that he finds satisfaction in having a good reputation, in being seen as a man of reliability, ability, and accomplishment. Another satisfaction found by Marcel in his role in Lynx Point is that of pride of possession, specifically of such large and expensive items as the power-boat and barge. Like his good reputation, this adds to his feeling of being a man of substance and respect. A third aspect of his satisfactions comes from his influence over others in his present role at Lynx Point. Again, this is part of his sense of being a person of substance and, as De Vos has suggested, may, in terms of his particular life-history, stem from a drive to play the role of "father"-provider. Finally, we arrive again at that more personal and idiosyncratic satisfaction that his position allows him to pursue more fully—the sense of mastery of the physical world for its own sake.

Summation

This final section has been devoted to a consideration of what appears to have been the forces at work in the establishment and continuation of the Lynx Point Venture. To this end it has been necessary to take into account the traditional socio-political organization in combination with certain ethological casts of the culture, the conscious motives held up by the group, historical opportunities and accident, and, finally, individual personalities and their inter-relationships. In the last three factors we have seen the motive power behind the establishment of the Venture, the first two factors being conditioning or limiting ones. To understand why the Lynx Point Venture has taken the particular form that it has, the recognition of all these factors and the nature of their interplay are necessary. Yet, in pressing the question "Why did the Lynx Point Venture actually come into being?" I feel that we are ultimately led to Marcel Renard—his drives, his character—as the triggering force.

In summation, the Lynx Point Venture is a situation wherein an individual and a group, drawn to new economic opportunities provided by culture contact, have altered to a modest degree their social relationships without relinquishing traditional values in social relations. The question remains, how much further can they go? Further achievements in production by Euro-American standards would, it would seem, demand severe modification, if not destruction, of the aboriginal social fabric and ethos. When efficiency is the measure, as we assume to be the case in industrial society, how far can egalitarian communality proceed? At what point must hierarchy and formalization enter? Or, the obverse, how far can only common sentiments and consensus carry a people along the road of technical and economic achievement?

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